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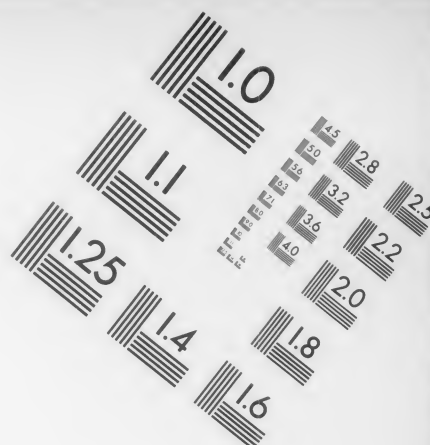
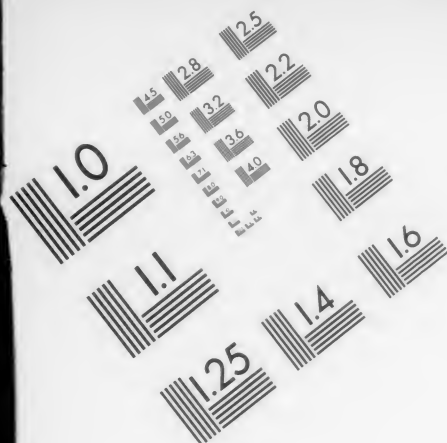


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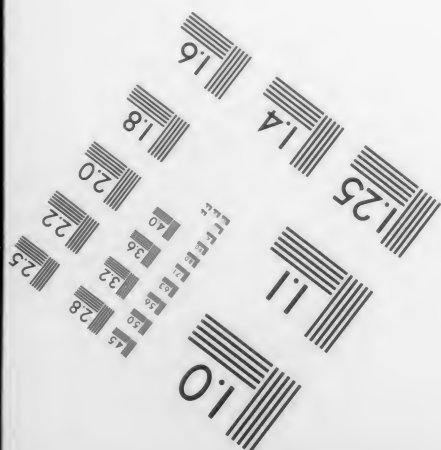
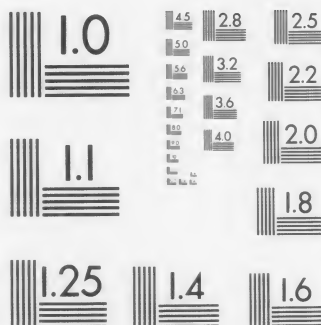
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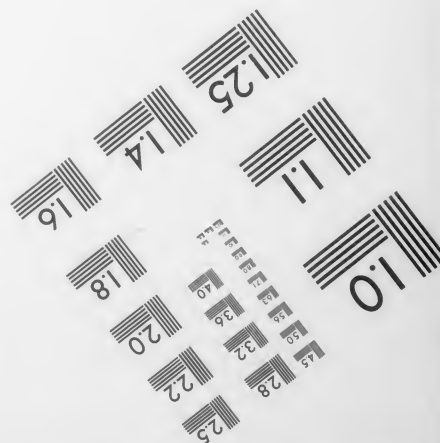
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C. PLINI CAECILI SECUNDI

EPISTULARUM

LIBER SEXTUS

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C. PLINI CAECILI SECUNDI

EPISTULARUM

LIBER SEXTUS

EDITED BY

J. D. DUFF, M.A.,

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE

Pliny the younger
...

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PREFACE.

THIS book was prepared at the suggestion of the Syndics of the Pitt Press.

Being intended for the use of students who are not far advanced in Latin, the notes contain much explanation, a good deal of translation, and very little illustration. For such readers, it seemed advisable too to point out, as they occurred, the chief differences between the syntax of Pliny and that of Cicero.

My chief obligations are to Mommsen's article in *Hermes* (vol. iii. pp. 31—139) and to his index in Keil's larger edition of Pliny's Letters (Leipzig 1870). Some of the translations given in the notes upon the sixteenth and twentieth Letters are taken from a version published by the late Sir Richard Jebb.

I wish also to express my thanks to Mr W. T. Lendrum, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, who has read the proof-sheets and made valuable suggestions for the improvement of the notes.

J. D. DUFF.

TRINITY COLLEGE.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

PLINY'S LIFE.

PLINY, the writer of these Letters, commonly called the younger Pliny to distinguish him from his uncle of the same name, played an active and conspicuous part in the life and business of the Roman Empire, just eighteen centuries ago. This might be said of many others ; but Pliny did more than this. It is chiefly owing to his Letters that we are able, after so great an interval of time, to picture to ourselves in detail the occupations and amusements of a Roman noble in the time of Trajan.

Pliny was born in the reign of the emperor Nero in the end of the year 61 A.D. or the beginning of 62¹. He was a native of Novum Comum, the modern Como, a flourishing and important town in that part of northern Italy called by the Romans Gallia Cisalpina. The town stands at the foot of the Alps and at the southern end of the lake now known as Como but called by the Romans the Larian lake². Devotion to their birthplace was a marked feature in the character of the Romans ; and Pliny had it in a high degree, and showed it by repeated gifts to the town during his life and also by the provisions of his will.

Pliny did not originally bear the name we know him by. For the first eighteen years of his life his name was Publius Caccilius Secundus ; his later name he assumed under the

¹ See n. to vi, 20 § 5.

² He speaks of sailing on the lake vi, 24 § 2.

will of his uncle. The Caecilii had been a family of repute and position at Comum at least as far back as the time of Julius Caesar¹; and Pliny's father, Lucius Caecilius Cilo, owned property there which was inherited by his son.

While Pliny was still young, his father died; but we are told that, when he was in his eighteenth year, his mother, though now old and infirm, was still living². Her name was Plinia, and she was the sister of the remarkable man whom we know by the name of the elder Pliny. She and her brother, together with Virginius Rufus³, who in his honoured old age occupied a position comparable to that of our own Wellington in his later years, acted as guardians to the boy. Like the Caecilii, the Plinii were people of importance at Comum; and Pliny inherited estates there from his mother as well as from his father.

Under the Roman emperors, society was divided into three classes, the senators, the *equites* (the word 'knights' is so misleading that it is better not to use it), and all the rest. The senators were the high aristocracy and divided by a great gulf even from the class immediately below them. Admission to this select body was gained, in ordinary cases, by election to certain offices (*honores*). Candidates were elected, partly by the senators themselves, by the process which we call co-option, partly by the emperor's nomination. After election to the quaestorship, the lowest of these offices, a man became a senator and remained so for life, unless he was expelled for some criminal offence or vicious conduct. This was the career selected for Pliny.

His uncle, however, was never a senator. He was an *eques*, a member of the aristocracy, indeed, and a close friend of several emperors; but his career was quite different from that of his nephew and his social position inferior. He followed the normal career of an *eques*: he served in the

¹ Catullus 35, 2 *velim Caecilio, papyre, dicas | Veronam veniat Novi relinquens | Comi moenia Lariumque litlus.*

² vi, 20 § 12.

³ ii, 1 § 8.

army in various capacities and then in the financial department of what we should call the Civil Service; at the time of his death he was admiral in command of a fleet.

The nephew, however, was a young man of wealth and ability; and it was determined that he should rise a step in the world and adopt the superior career. This decision was completely justified by the results.

Of Pliny's early education we are told little; but we may be sure that under the supervision of his uncle, a man of learning and a man of method, it was most carefully attended to. Roman education was directed to a single object, the acquisition of rhetorical skill. Narrow it may have been; but it had this great advantage over our modern systems, that both teachers and taught knew precisely what they were aiming at. For a Roman noble, the course, which did not vary much in different cases, was conducted on the following plan. Both Latin and Greek he learned in the nursery, generally learning the foreign language first¹. During the whole of his subsequent life, he never thought of learning any third language: in his education there was no question of a conflict between modern and ancient languages. When he had learnt, either at home or at a school (*ludus litterarius*), to read and write and work sums, he was then taken in hand by the teacher of literature (*grammaticus*). These schoolmasters taught grammar; but their principal business was to read and explain the works of the great poets and historians. Homer and Menander, Virgil, Horace, Lucan, and Statius are mentioned as common school-books. This part of the training was intended to produce abundance of vocabulary and power of expression. Two other studies might also be taken at this time—music and mathematics; but they were treated as of comparatively trifling importance.

Finally, the boy began what we might call his college course, when he left literature for rhetoric. This was taught by professors (*rhetores*), who set, as tasks to their pupils,

¹ Quintilian *Inst. Or.* i, 1 § 12.

essays (*theses*) and dramatic monologues (*suasoriae*), but chiefly caused them to carry on debates (*controversiae*), which professed to observe legal forms and to represent the proceedings of a law-court.

That Pliny was taught his Homer and Virgil by the best school-masters of the day, we may feel sure, but we do not know their names. In this respect his professors are more fortunate; for he mentions two of them, Nicetes Sacerdos, an Asiatic Greek, and Quintilian¹, the most famous professor of any age, who towards the end of a long and active life, was raised, by an extraordinary exercise of imperial favour, to the rank of a senator². We know too that his uncle set him tasks to do³, and took a personal interest in his nephew's progress.

In Pliny's eighteenth year, when his formal education was nearly ended, an event took place which is of great importance in the world's history and was of importance to Pliny too. This was the famous eruption of Vesuvius, which took place in August of the year 79 A.D. and covered up under lava and ashes a little corner of ancient life and civilisation for posterity to reveal by slow and difficult excavations which are still very far from complete⁴. In this eruption, the elder Pliny, who was in command of the fleet at Misenum, lost his life; and by his will the young man, who very nearly accompanied the admiral on his fatal expedition, inherited not only his uncle's property but his name. From that time forward his full name was Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus; for short he generally was called Plinius, though many of his friends, notably the emperor Trajan, address him as Secundus.

Seven years had still to run before he was old enough to qualify for the senate. But his first public appearance was

¹ vi, 6 § 3; ii, 14 § 10.

² Juvenal 7, 197.

³ vi, 16 § 7.

⁴ Herculaneum is still practically untouched: a scheme for its excavation is now on foot.

in his 19th year, when he delivered a speech in a law-court¹; speaking of this kind was to be one of the chief occupations of his manhood. In the meantime he also performed several official duties, of a temporary kind, which were compulsory for those who aspired to the senatorial career. The most interesting of these² is his military service, which he had to perform for one year as *tribunus militum*. He served in the Third Gallic Legion which was then stationed in Syria, Domitian being the reigning emperor. He had no desire for military glory and left the army as soon as the law allowed him: his chief exploit seems to have been his management of the regimental accounts³, which had got into disorder. It is also characteristic of him that he managed to attend the lectures of two distinguished philosophers⁴ then resident in Syria.

When he returned to Rome, he became candidate for the quaestorship; but he did not reach that position at the earliest age permitted by law, which was twenty-five years. In the senatorial career four curule offices were held in succession; and at least one year had to elapse between each. These were the quaestorship, the office of tribune or aedile, the praetorship, and finally the consulship. Between the last two the law required an interval of two years. Pliny was nominated to his first office by the emperor Domitian, and held it from June 89 till May 90. He was now a senator; and we may be sure that he thoroughly appreciated that distinction. His official duties were slight: as imperial quaestor (*quaestor imperatoris*) his main duty was to read messages from the sovereign to the senate. He also kept up throughout his life at Rome, with one exception shortly to be noticed, the practice of speaking in the courts;

¹ v, 8 § 8.

² At this time he served also as *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis* and *sevir equitum Romanorum*.

³ vii, 31 § 2.

⁴ Artemidorus (iii, 11 § 5) and Euphrates (i, 10 § 2).

and he was evidently soon considered to be one of the most capable speakers of his time.

Pliny's next office was the tribunate, which he filled in the year 91—92. That great office had become little more than a name: the special power of the tribunes was monopolised by the emperors; there were no longer any popular assemblies for them to address. They were competent to preside over the debates of the senate; and they could, in case the emperor allowed it, veto a decree of that body. Yet Pliny took this office seriously. Because the persons of the ancient tribunes were inviolable, he thought it his duty to abstain from appearing in the law-courts during his year of office, that his dignity might not suffer in contests with other speakers and presidents of courts¹.

Pliny was praetor in the year 93. From his silence it is probable that he held none of the judicial offices which were still filled by some of the praetors; he speaks once of the games which he celebrated in this office². Before this time and for some years afterwards his position must have been difficult. The last years of Domitian, who was assassinated in 96, were a reign of terror especially for senators; and Pliny, who owed the first stage of his advancement to the emperor's favour and, on the other hand, was a man of humane and kindly temperament, must often have been sorely troubled how to act. He was not of the stuff of which confessors and martyrs are made. He seems to have taken as little part as possible in public affairs. When in 96 the tyranny was ended by the assassination of the tyrant, Pliny at once became prominent in the work of punishing Domitian's tools and relieving his victims.

Pliny reached the consulship, the crowning office of the senatorial career, in the reign of Trajan. He became consul together with his old friend, Cornutus Tertullus, in September of 100; and according to custom on his first day of office

¹ i, 23 § 2.

² vii, 11 § 4.

he delivered in the senate a speech, still extant, in which he thanked Trajan for the honour conferred upon him.

It remains to speak of some other important offices which Pliny held both before and after his consulship. It must be remembered that even after his consulship he was little more than forty.

Of these offices the first two had to do with the financial business of the empire; most of the real hard work of Pliny's life was done over account-books and not in the debates of the senate. At the end of his praetorship he was appointed by Domitian to be president, with two colleagues, of the military treasury (*praefectus aerarii militaris*), which received very large sums from a succession-duty and disbursed them in pensions for soldiers. The presidents were required to have filled the office of praetor. Pliny held this office till 96. Two years later he was appointed by Nerva to a still more onerous office, as president of the public treasury (*praefectus aerarii Saturni*), which divided with the imperial treasury (*fiscus*) the financial business of the whole empire. He continued to hold this office while consul, and apparently held it till the end of 101.

The next business, which he discharged from 105 to 107, was the superintendence of the channel and banks of the Tiber—a matter of importance owing to the great risk of inundations—and of the city sewers¹. The office sounds somewhat unworthy of its holder, who was always an ex-consul (*consularis*) with four assessors from the lower classes of the senate. Pliny found plenty of work to do in this position².

It must be remembered that together with all this official work, Pliny carried on an important practice at the bar. He charged no fees for his services³: his object was that kind of consideration, which no Roman, who followed a civilian career, could attain in any other way. The chief

¹ His title was *curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis*.

² vi, 4 § 1; 18 § 1.

³ vi, 23 § 1.

scene of his activity was the court of the *centumviri*, which dealt with cases of disputed inheritance. We do not hear of his appearing in criminal trials before the praetors. But the chief ambition of an advocate was to speak before the senate in cases where senators were on trial for misgovernment of their provinces. Pliny appeared in five such cases¹: the first was in 93 when he prosecuted Baebius Massa for misconduct in Spain; the last was in 106 when he defended Varenus against the complaints of the Bithynians. As Pliny grew older, he spoke less in the courts, but often appeared there in another capacity, as assessor to the presiding magistrate². In this capacity he sat on the bench, instead of pleading at the bar.

The last public function which Pliny discharged was of an exceptional nature. He was sent by Trajan to reform disorders in the province of Bithynia. Under the empire some of the provinces were governed directly by the senate, others by the emperor and his delegates. The principle followed in the original division³ was that the emperor should keep in his own hands the recently settled provinces, where military force was more likely to be needed. Bithynia had been a senatorial province, and so had been governed by pro-consuls chosen annually by lot. But the province was now in an unsatisfactory state: its finances were in disorder; secret societies and clubs, always greatly dreaded by the Roman government, were rife; the public buildings were dilapidated. Trajan therefore took the province into his own hands and chose Pliny as the instrument of his reforms. We still possess the letters which Pliny wrote to Trajan, asking for advice in his difficulties, and the emperor's replies. They are documents of great importance, for the light they throw upon Trajan's character and upon the government of the provinces under the empire. Pliny was in Bithynia between 111 and 113 A.D.

¹ For a list, see vi, 29 § 7 ff.

² vi, 2 § 7.

³ Between Augustus and the senate, 27 B.C.

One might well suppose that a man so constantly employed in public business and in the law-courts could find no leisure for other occupations and get no enjoyment of private life. But this was far from being the case with Pliny. He took an occasional holiday which he spent at one of his many country-houses either at Comum or in other parts of Italy. On these occasions he entertained his neighbours, talked to his tenants, and even hunted boars¹, though he lets us see that he was not an ardent sportsman. As well as a flask and sandwich-box, he always carried a note-book on the chase². In Rome he was constantly at the service of his friends, whether they wanted his support at an election or his presence while they recited their poetry. He knew everybody; and when his friends came of age, or married, or made their wills, he made a point of being present at the inevitable ceremony³. And he was constantly writing, not only speeches but also letters and even poetry. Though he never had any children, he was thrice married, twice in the reign of Domitian. Of his first wife nothing is known; his second wife died in 97 and is hardly mentioned; but her mother, Pompeia Celerina, a rich and noble lady, remained on most friendly terms with her son-in-law. His third wife, evidently much younger than himself, was Calpurnia, the grand-daughter of Fabatus, a native of Comum. Two letters in the Sixth Book are addressed to her; and we know that she accompanied her husband to Bithynia, because, on the death of her father, Pliny asks the emperor to grant special facilities for her return to Italy⁴.

It is doubtful whether Pliny himself ever returned from Bithynia. There is no evidence to show that he ever did. The date of his last letter from Bithynia is probably January 113. It is probable that he died before 115; but it is not known whether he died in Bithynia before his

¹ ix, 36 §§ 5 and 6.

² i, 6 § 3 (to Tacitus).

³ i, 9 § 2.

⁴ *Ad Traj.* 120

special mission was at an end, or lived long enough to see Italy again.

By his will Pliny left a large sum of money to his native town. Part of this was to be spent in the building and maintenance of public baths. When the building was erected, an inscription was placed upon it recording Pliny's benefactions. According to custom the inscription included a complete list of Pliny's public offices, beginning with his mission to Bithynia and ending with his military service and the duties he discharged before his quaestorship. Some time in the middle ages the slab which bore this inscription was taken to Milan. There it was broken into six pieces, of which four were built into a tomb in St Ambrose's Church. Though all the fragments except one have now disappeared, the inscription was copied at Milan in 1442, and the whole of the text is known. The inscription is of great importance in fixing the list of Pliny's official duties and their order; it also furnishes a significant indication of the date of his death. For the various titles of the reigning emperor, which occur in the inscription, do not include the title of *optimus* which Trajan is known to have assumed in 114. It may therefore be inferred that Pliny died before that date, in the fifty-second or fifty-third year of his life.

II.

PLINY'S LETTERS.

The extant works of Pliny consist of nine books of private letters to his friends, one book of official despatches¹, written chiefly in Bithynia, to the emperor, and a single speech, the Panegyric which he addressed to Trajan in the senate on the first day of his consulship.

This is only a small part of what Pliny actually wrote and published. Many of his speeches he revised, recited to his

¹ In the older editions this is incorrectly numbered as Book X.

friends, and then published¹. He also wrote poetry, which was submitted first to the same friendly audience and then to the public eye².

It is certain, however, that the Letters which we have, are of much greater value and interest than the speeches and poetry which we have lost. Indeed the reputation of Pliny, as an orator, would stand higher, if his one speech had shared the fate of all the rest. It seems that Pliny's friends, not to speak of the writer himself, admired it beyond measure; for they came crowding, in shocking weather, on three successive days to hear Pliny read it³; but no modern reader has ever shared their enthusiasm. Macaulay unkindly says of it, that no University Sermon was ever more stupid; Wolf remarks that if it had been delivered in its present form, Trajan would have died of it. We know that Pliny revised it before publication⁴; and some critics have charitably supposed that its badness is entirely due to the process of correction; but this seems too hasty an inference. If it is a fair specimen of Pliny's powers, he was certainly no second Cicero.

Nor need much be said of the poetry which he began to write in mature life. He wrote chiefly in lyric metres; but thirteen hexameters and eight elegiacs are preserved, like flies in amber, in his letters⁵; and their quality does not tempt us to wish for more.

If we judge by these scanty remains, Pliny could never have ranked high among Roman orators and poets; but his Letters are a production of remarkable literary merit. They are also more gratifying to our curiosity than almost any other work of antiquity; and their loss would have been a great calamity to all students of the past.

Pliny appears to have been the first Roman to publish his own letters; and he only began to do so when he was of

¹ For one instance out of many, see *Epp.* v, 12. ² vii, 4 § 7.

³ iii, 18 § 4. ⁴ *ibid.* § 1. ⁵ vii, 4 § 6; vii, 9 § 11.

mature age and established position. The books were published separately, at short intervals of time. There are many allusions to contemporary events, which make it possible to settle approximately the date of publication. Thus the first book was published in 97 soon after the death of Domitian when Pliny was president of the Military Treasury; and the last books belong to 108 or 109. The sixth book can be precisely dated by Pliny's complaint that the monument of Virginius Rufus was still unfinished in the tenth year after his death¹. As Rufus died in 97, this letter was written in 106. At the beginning of the same book, Trajan is absent from Rome²; but towards the end he has returned after performing great exploits³—a clear reference to the second Dacian War from which he returned in 106 or 107. A general chronological sequence can be traced throughout all the nine books.

The letters to Trajan are of a later date: except a few at the beginning of the book they were all written in Bithynia⁴ between 111 and 113. They differ too from the earlier letters, because they were not written with an eye to publication but merely to give information to Trajan at home and to ask his advice. To many of the letters the reply of Trajan, generally very brief and business-like, is appended. It is probable that this correspondence was published by Pliny's friends after his death. It contains the famous letter⁵ in which Pliny describes the rapid spread of a strange heresy in the province and asks for counsel in dealing with the mischief. That heresy was the Christian religion.

It is, however, upon his Letters to his friends that Pliny's reputation really depends. Excellent literature as they are, it is impossible for the reader not to feel certain defects, due

¹ vi, 10 § 3.

² vi, 13 § 2.

³ vi, 31; vi, 27 § 5.

⁴ The first letter congratulates Trajan on his accession; 3—11 are written while Pliny was *praefectus aerarii*; 14—122 are all from the province.

⁵ No. 96.

partly to their origin and purpose, partly to faults in the writer's character.

In the first place, these Letters are not genuine letters, in the sense that they were not written merely for the information or pleasure of the person addressed but mainly with an eye to future publication. If they are compared with genuine letters, such as Cicero's, the difference is at once apparent. Pliny never repeats himself, never sends news which has to be corrected in a later letter, never betrays a sign of real excitement or depression. He never jumps from one subject to another and then back again to the first, as everyone does in a natural letter to a friend. Each letter deals with a single subject—some incident of the senate-house or law-court or drawing-room—which is begun, developed, and concluded without any inartistic but natural digressions.

Another fault, due to their origin, was detected in the Letters by contemporary critics¹. This was that every person mentioned in the Letters, unless he was then dead or in exile, is praised by Pliny. The single exception is in the case of his disreputable rival in the law-courts, Regulus; and to this may be added the censure which he allows himself to pass upon Javolenus Priscus for his unceremonious interruption of a recitation². Few people are so fortunate in their surroundings that their letters to intimate friends contain nothing but praise of the persons mentioned. Cicero was no back-biter; yet think in what terms he writes to Atticus of his political enemies and even of Pompey. The result is that Pliny's Letters give too favourable a picture of the people and times which they describe.

There is another feature in the Letters which, to our taste at least, is singularly unpleasant. If Sir Toby had put to Pliny his question, 'Is this a world to hide virtues in?', Pliny's reply would not have been doubtful. If he gave a piece of land to an old nurse, or a present of money to a dependant, or a contribution towards the wedding-clothes of

¹ vii, 28 where Pliny defends his practice.

² vi, 15.

a friend's daughter, a letter is written on purpose to publish his generosity to the world¹. Yet the poor bride can hardly have liked it. His want of taste reaches even lower depths in the case of his letters to his wife²: with the letters themselves there is no fault to be found; but their publication was little less than an outrage.

But despite their faults, these Letters deserve their reputation. The subjects are varied and interesting, the artistic skill indubitable, the style clear and pleasant. These pictures of sensible and virtuous people—women as well as men, for women play a considerable part in the Letters—serve to correct the distorted notion we might otherwise form of life at Rome in the second century. We see here an aspect of things which we should never guess from Tacitus and Juvenal. Pliny's really high gifts of narrative and description are well seen in the two letters which relate the eruption of Vesuvius³. He has also in an eminent degree the power which Johnson denied to his imitators: 'Sir, the dogs don't know how to write trifles with dignity.' Still further, he has some of the qualities of that prince of all biographers, Boswell: an eye for dramatic effect, a love of personal detail, and a sure instinct for what is interesting. If he had chosen to write a real biography of Tacitus, he might have produced a work of extraordinary value and interest; as it is, none of his letters are more delightful than those which contain the biographical sketches of his uncle⁴, Vestricius Spurinna⁵, and others.

¹ vi, 3; vi, 25 § 3; vi, 32. There is a decent interval between.

² vi, 4 and 7.

³ vi, 16 and 20.

⁴ iii, 5.

⁵ iii, 1. It is matter for regret that his memoir of Spurinna's son (iii, 10) has been lost. His book on Helvidius Priscus was probably a political pamphlet.

C. PLINI CAECILI SECUNDI

EPISTULARUM

LIBER SEXTUS.

I

C. PLINIUS TIRONI SUO S.

Quam diu ego trans Padum, tu in Piceno, minus te i requirebam; postquam ego in urbe, tu adhuc in Piceno, multo magis, seu quod ipsa loca, in quibus esse una solemus, acrius me tui commonent, seu quod desiderium absentium nihil perinde ac vicinitas acuit, quoque propius accesseris ad spem fruendi, hoc impatientius careas. Quidquid in causa, eripe me huic tormento; veni, aut ego illuc, unde inconsulte properavi, revertar vel ob hoc solum, ut experiar, an mihi, cum sine me Romae coeperis esse, similes his epistulas mittas. Vale.

2

C. PLINIUS ARRIANO SUO S.

Soleo non numquam in iudiciis quaerere M. Regulum, nolo enim dicere desiderare. Cur ergo quaero? Habebat studiis honorem; timebat, pallebat; scribebat, quamvis non posset ediscere. Illud ipsum, quod oculum

D. P.

I

modo dextrum, modo sinistrum circumlinebat, dextrum, si a petitore, alterum, si a possessore esset acturus, quod candidum splenium in hoc aut in illud supercilium transferebat, quod semper haruspices consulebat de actionis eventu, a nimia superstitione, sed tamen et a
 3 magno studiorum honore veniebat. Iam illa perquam iucunda una dicentibus, quod libera tempora petebat, quod audituros corrogabat. Quid enim iucundius quam sub alterius invidia, quam diu velis, et in alieno audi-
 4 torio quasi deprehensum commode dicere? Sed ut cumque se habent ista, bene fecit Regulus, quod est mortuus, melius, si ante. Nunc enim sane poterat sine malo publico vivere sub eo principe, sub quo nocere non poterat. Ideo fas est non numquam eum quaerere. Nam, postquam obiit ille, increbruit passim et invaluit consuetudo binas vel singulas clepsydras, interdum etiam
 5 dimidias et dandi et petendi. Nam, et qui dicunt, egisse malunt quam agere, et qui audiunt, finire quam iudicare. Tanta neglegentia, tanta desidia, tanta denique inre-
 6 verentia studiorum periculorumque est. An nos sapientiores maioribus nostris, nos legibus ipsis iustiores, quae tot horas, tot dies, tot comperendinationes largiuntur? hebetes illi et supra modum tardi, nos apertius dicimus, celerius intellegimus, religiosius iudicamus, quia paucioribus clepsydris praecipitamus causas, quam
 7 diebus explicari solebant? O Regule, qui ambitione ab omnibus obtinebas, quod fidei paucissimi praestant! Equidem quotiens iudico, quod vel saepius facio quam dico, quantum quis plurimum postulat aquae, do.
 8 Etenim temerarium existimo divinare, quam spatiosa sit causa inaudita, tempusque negotio finire, cuius modum ignores, praesertim cum primam religioni suae iudex

patientiam debeat, quae pars magna iustitiae est. At quaedam supervacua dicuntur. Etiam; sed satius est et haec dici quam non dici necessaria. Praeterea, an 9 sint supervacua, nisi cum audieris, scire non possis.

Sed de his melius coram ut de pluribus vitiis civitatis. Nam tu quoque amore communi omnium soles emendari cupere, quae iam corrigere difficile est. Nunc respici- 10 amus domos nostras. Ecquid omnia in tua recte? in mea novi nihil. Mihi autem et gratiora sunt bona, quod perseverant, et leviora incommoda, quod adsuevi. Vale.

3

C. PLINIUS VERO SUO S.

Gratias ago, quod agellum, quem nutrici meae 1 donaveram, colendum suscepisti. Erat, cum donarem, centum milium nummum; postea descrescente reditu etiam pretium minuit, quod nunc te curante reparabit. Tu modo memineris commendari tibi a me non arbores 2 et terram, quamquam haec quoque, sed munusculum meum; quod esse quam fructuosissimum non illius magis interest, quae accepit, quam mea, qui dedi. Vale.

4

C. PLINIUS CALPURNIAE SUAE S.

Numquam sum magis de occupationibus meis questus, 1 quae me non sunt passae aut proficiscentem te valetudinis causa in Campaniam prosequi aut profectam e vestigio subsequi. Nunc enim praecipue simul esse cupiebam, 2 ut oculis meis crederem, quid viribus, quid corpusculo

adparares, ecquid denique secessus voluptatis regionisque
 3 abundantiam inoffensa transmitteres. Equidem etiam
 fortem te non sine cura desiderarem; est enim suspensum
 et anxium de eo, quem ardentissime diligas, interdum
 4 nihil scire; nunc vero me cum absentiae tum infirmitatis
 tuae ratio incerta et varia sollicitudine exterret. Vereor
 omnia, imaginor omnia, quaeque natura metuentium est,
 5 ea maxime mihi, quae maxime abominor, fingo. Quo
 inpensius rogo, ut timori meo cotidie singulis vel etiam
 binis epistulis consulas. Ero enim securior, dum lego,
 statimque timebo, cum legero. Vale.

5

C. PLINIUS URSO SUO S.

1 Scripseram tenuisse Varenum, ut sibi evocare testes
 liceret; quod pluribus aequum, quibusdam iniquum et
 quidem pertinaciter visum, maxime Licinio Nepoti, qui
 sequenti senatu, cum de rebus aliis referretur, de proximo
 senatus consulto disseruit finitamque causam retractavit.
 2 Addidit etiam petendum a consulibus, ut referrent sub
 exemplo legis ambitus de lege repetundarum, an placeret
 in futurum ad eam legem adici, ut, sicut accusatoribus
 inquirendi testibusque denuntiandi potestas ex ea lege
 3 esset, ita reis quoque fieret. Fuerunt, quibus haec eius
 oratio ut sera et intempestiva et praepostera displiceret,
 quae omisso contra dicendum tempore castigaret peractum,
 4 cui potuisset occurrere. Inventius quidem Celsus praetor
 tamquam emendatorem senatus et multis et vehementer
 increpuit. Respondit Nepos rursusque Celsus; neuter
 5 contumeliis temperavit. Nolo referre, quae dici ab ipsis
 moleste tuli. Quo magis quosdam e numero nostro

inprobavi, qui modo ad Celsum, modo ad Nepotem,
 prout hic vel ille diceret, cupiditate audiendi cursitabant
 et nunc, quasi stimularent et accenderent, nunc, quasi
 reconciliarent ac recomponerent, frequentius singulis,
 ambobus interdum propitium Caesarem ut in ludicro
 aliquo precabantur. Mihi quidem illud etiam pera- 6
 cerbum fuit, quod sunt alter alteri, quid pararent,
 indicati. Nam et Celsus Nepoti ex libello respondit
 et Celso Nepos ex pugillaribus. Tanta loquacitas 7
 amicorum, ut homines iurgaturi id ipsum invicem
 scierint, tamquam convenisset. Vale.

6

C. PLINIUS FUNDANO SUO S.

Si quando, nunc praecipue cuperem esse te Romae, 1
 et sis rogo. Opus est mihi voti, laboris, sollicitudinis
 socio. Petit honores Iulius Naso, petit cum multis,
 cum bonis, quos ut gloriosum sic est difficile superare.
 Pendeo ergo, et exerceor spe, adficio metu et me 2
 consularem esse non sentio; nam rursus mihi videor
 omnium, quae decucurri, candidatus. Meretur hanc 3
 curam longa mei caritate. Est mihi cum illo non
 sane paterna amicitia (neque enim esse potuit per meam
 aetatem), solebat tamen vixdum adulescentulo mihi pater
 eius cum magna laude monstrari. Erat non studiorum
 tantum, verum etiam studiosorum amantissimus ac prope
 cotidie ad audiendos, quos tunc ego frequentabam,
 Quintilianum, Niceten Sacerdotem ventitabat, vir alioqui
 clarus et gravis, et qui prodesse filio memoria sui debeat.
 Sed multi nunc in senatu, quibus ignotus ille, multi, 4
 quibus notus, sed non nisi viventes reverentur. Quo

magis huic ommissa gloria patris, in qua magnum ornamentum, gratia infirma, ipsi enitendum, ipsi elaborandum est. Quod quidem semper, quasi provideret hoc tempus, sedulo fecit: paravit amicos; quos paraverat, coluit; me certe, ut primum sibi iudicare permisit, ad amorem imitationemque delegit. Dicenti mihi sollicitus adstitit, adsidet recitanti; primis etiam et cum maxime nascentibus opusculis meis interest nunc solus, ante cum fratre, cuius nuper amissi ego suscipere partes, ego vicem debeo implere. Doleo enim et illum inmatura morte indignissime raptum et hunc optimi fratris adiumento destitutum solisque amicis relictum. Quibus ex causis exigo, ut venias et suffragio meo tuum iungas. Per multum interest mea te ostentare, tecum circumire. Ea est auctoritas tua, ut putem me efficacius tecum etiam meos amicos rogaturum. Abrumpe, si qua te retinent; hoc tempus meum, hoc fides, hoc etiam dignitas postulat. Suscepi candidatum, et suscepisse me notum est; ego ambio, ego periclitor; in summa, si datur Nasoni, quod petit, illius honor, si negatur, mea repulsa est. Vale.

7

C. PLINIUS CALPURNIAE SUAE S.

Scribis te absentia mea non mediocriter adfici unumque habere solacium, quod pro me libellos meos teneas, saepe etiam in vestigio meo conloces. Gratum est, quod nos requiris, gratum, quod his fomentis adquiescis. Invicem ego epistulas tuas lectito atque identidem in manus quasi novas sumo; sed eo magis ad desiderium tui accendor. Nam, cuius litterae tantum habent

suavitatis, huius sermonibus quantum dulcedinis inest! Tu tamen quam frequentissime scribe, licet hoc ita me delectet, ut torqueat. Vale.

8

C. PLINIUS PRISCO SUO S.

Atilium Crescentem et nosti et amas. Quis enim illum spectatior paulo aut non novit aut non amat? Hunc ego non ut multi, sed artissime diligo. Oppida nostra unius diei itinere dirimuntur; ipsi amare invicem, qui est flagrantissimus amor, adulescentuli coepimus. Mansit hic postea nec refrixit iudicio, sed invaluit. Sciunt, qui alterutrum nostrum familiarius intuentur. Nam et ille amicitiam meam latissima praedicatione circumfert, et ego prae me fero, quantae sit mihi curae modestia, quies, securitas eius. Quin etiam, cum insolentiam cuiusdam tribunatum plebis inituri vereretur idque indicasset mihi, respondi: *οὐτός ἐμεῦ ζῶντος.* Quorsus haec? ut scias non posse Atilium me incolumi iniuriam accipere. Iterum dices: *Quorsus haec?* Debit ei pecuniam Valerius Varus. Huius est heres Maximus noster, quem et ipse amo, sed coniunctius tu. Rogo ergo, exigo etiam pro iure amicitiae, cures, ut Atilio meo salva sit non sors modo, verum etiam usura plurium annorum. Homo est alieni abstinentissimus, sui diligens, nullis quaestibus sustinetur, nullus illi nisi ex frugalitate redditus. Nam studia, quibus plurimum praestat, ad voluptatem tantum et gloriam exercet. Gravis est ei vel minima iactura, quia reparare, quod amiseris, gravius est. Exime hunc illi, exime hunc mihi scrupulum; sine me suavitate eius, sine leporibus

perfrui. Neque enim possum tristem videre, cuius
 8 hilaritas me tristem esse non patitur. In summa
 nosti facetias hominis; quas velim adtendas ne in bilem
 et amaritudinem, vertat iniuria. Quam vim habeat
 offensus, crede ei, quam in amore habet. Non feret
 magnum et liberum ingenium cum contumelia damnum.
 9 Verum, ut ferat ille, ego meum damnum, meam con-
 tumeliam iudicabo, sed non tamquam pro mea, hoc est
 gravius, irascar. Quamquam quid denuntiationibus et
 quasi minis ago? Quin potius, ut coeperam, rogo, oro,
 des operam, ne ille se, quod validissime vereor, a me,
 ego me neglectum a te putem. Dabis autem, si hoc
 perinde curae est tibi quam illud mihi. Vale.

9

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

1 Commendas mihi Iulium Nasonem candidatum.
 Nasonem mihi? quid si me ipsum? Fero tamen et
 ignosco. Eundem enim commendassem tibi, si te
 Romae morante ipse afuissem. Habet hoc sollicitudo,
 2 quod omnia necessaria putat. Tu tamen censeo alios
 roges; ego precum tuarum minister, adiutor, particeps
 ero. Vale.

10

C. PLINIUS ALBINO SUO S.

1 Cum venissem in socrus meae villam Alsiensem,
 quae aliquando Rufi Vergini fuit, ipse mihi locus optimi
 illius et maximi viri desiderium non sine dolore renovavit.
 Hunc enim incolere secessum atque etiam senectutis

suae nidulum vocare consueverat. Quocumque me 2
 contulissem, illum animus, illum oculi requirebant.
 Libuit etiam monumentum eius videre, et vidisse paeni-
 tuit. Est enim adhuc imperfectum, nec difficultas operis 3
 in causa modici ac potius exigui, sed inertia eius, cui
 cura mandata est. Subit indignatio cum miseratione
 post decimum mortis annum reliquias neglectumque
 cinerem sine titulo, sine nomine iacere, cuius memoria
 orbem terrarum gloria pervagetur. At ille mandaverat 4
 caveratque, ut divinum illud et immortale factum versibus
 inscriberetur:

‘Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam
 imperium adseruit non sibi, sed patriae.’

Tam rara in amicitiiis fides, tam parata oblivio mortuorum, 5
 ut ipsi nobis debeamus etiam conditoria exstruere omnia-
 que heredum officia praesumere. Nam cui non est 6
 verendum, quod videmus accidisse Verginio? cuius
 iniuriam ut indigniorem sic etiam notiozem ipsius
 claritas facit. Vale.

II

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

O diem laetum! adhibitus in consilium a praefecto 1
 urbis audiui ex diverso agentes summae spei, summae
 indolis iuvenes, Fuscum Salinatorem et Ummidium
 Quadratum, egregium par nec modo temporibus nostris
 sed litteris ipsis ornamento futurum. Mira utrique pro- 2
 bitas constantia salva, decorus habitus, os Latinum,
 vox virilis, tenax memoria, magnum ingenium, iudicium
 aequale; quae singula mihi voluptati fuerunt atque inter
 haec illud, quod et ipsi me ut rectorem, ut magistrum

intuebantur et iis, qui audiebant, me aemulari, meis
 3 instare vestigiis videbantur. O diem (repetam enim)
 laetum notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo! Quid
 enim aut publice laetius quam clarissimos iuvenes nomen
 et famam ex studiis petere aut mihi optatius quam me
 ad recta tendentibus quasi exemplar esse propositum?
 4 Quod gaudium ut perpetuo capiam, deos oro; ab isdem
 teste te peto, ut omnis, qui me imitari tanti putabunt,
 meliores esse quam me velint. Vale.

12

C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

1 Tu vero non debes suspensa manu commendare
 mihi, quos tuendos putas. Nam et te decet multis
 prodesse et me suscipere, quidquid ad curam tuam
 2 pertinet. Itaque Vettio Prisco, quantum plurimum
 potuero, praestabo, praesertim in harena mea, hoc est
 3 apud centumviros. Epistularum, quas mihi, ut ais,
 aperto pectore scripsisti, oblivisci me iubes. At ego
 nullarum libentius memini. Ex illis enim vel praecipue
 sentio, quanto opere me diligas, cum sic exegeris mecum,
 4 ut solebas cum tuo filio. Nec dissimulo hoc mihi
 iucundiores eas fuisse, quod habebam bonam causam,
 cum summo studio curassem, quod tu curari volebas.
 5 Proinde etiam atque etiam rogo, ut mihi semper eadem
 simplicitate, quotiens cessare videbor (videbor dico,
 numquam enim cessabo), convicium facias, quod et
 ego intellegam a summo amore proficisci, et tu non
 meruisse me gaudeas. Vale.

13

C. PLINIUS URSO SUO S.

Umquamne vidisti quemquam tam laboriosum, tam 1
 exercitum quam Varenum meum? cui, quod summa
 contentione impetraverat, defendendum et quasi rursus
 petendum fuit. Bithyni senatus consultum apud con- 2
 sules carpere ac labefactare sunt ausi atque etiam absenti
 principi criminari; ab illo ad senatum remissi non
 destiterunt. Egit Claudius Capito inreverenter magis
 quam constanter, ut qui senatus consultum apud senatum
 accusaret. Respondit Catus Fronto graviter et firme. 3
 Senatus ipse mirificus; nam illi quoque, qui prius
 negarant Vareno, quae petebat, eadem danda, postquam
 erant data, censuerunt; singulos enim integra re dis- 4
 sentire fas esse, peracta, quod pluribus placuisset, cunctis
 tuendum. Acilius tantum Rufus et cum eo septem an- 5
 octo, septem immo, in priore sententia perseverarunt.
 Erant in hac paucitate non nulli, quorum temporaria
 gravitas vel potius gravitatis imitatio ridebatur. Tu 6
 tamen aestima, quantum nos in ipsa pugna certaminis
 maneat, cuius quasi praelusio atque praecursio has con-
 tentiones excitavit. Vale.

14

C. PLINIUS MAURICO SUO S.

Sollicitas me in Formianum. Veniam ea condicione, 1
 ne quid contra commodum tuum facias; qua pactione
 invicem mihi caveo. Neque enim mare et litus, sed
 te, otium, libertatem sequor; alioqui satius est in urbe

2 remanere. Oportet enim omnia aut ad alienum arbitrium aut ad suum facere. Mei certe stomachi haec natura est, ut nihil nisi totum et merum velit. Vale.

15

C. PLINIUS ROMANO SUO S.

1 Mirificae rei non interfuisti; ne ego quidem, sed me recens fabula exceperit. Passennus Paulus, splendidus eques Romanus et in primis eruditus, scribit elegos. Gentilicium hoc illi; est enim municeps Properti atque
2 etiam inter maiores suos Propertium numerat. Is cum recitaret, ita coepit dicere: 'Prisce, iubes.' Ad hoc Iavolenus Priscus (aderat enim ut Paulo amicissimus): 'Ego vero non iubeo.' Cogita, qui risus hominum, qui
3 ioci. Est omnino Priscus dubiae sanitatis, interest tamen officiis, adhibetur consiliis atque etiam ius civile publice respondet. Quo magis, quod tunc fecit, et
4 ridiculum et notabile fuit. Interim Paulo aliena deliratio aliquantum frigoris attulit. Tam sollicite recitaturis providendum est, non solum ut sint ipsi sani, verum etiam ut sanos adhibeant. Vale.

16

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

1 Petis, ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis. Gratias ago; nam video morti eius, si celebretur a te, immortalem gloriam esse
2 propositam. Quamvis enim pulcherrimarum clade terrarum, ut populi, ut urbes, memorabili casu quasi semper victurus occiderit, quamvis ipse plurima opera et mansura

condiderit, multum tamen perpetuitati eius scriptorum tuorum aeternitas addet. Equidem beatos puto, quibus 3 deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda aut scribere legenda, beatissimos vero, quibus utrumque. Horum in numero avunculus meus et suis libris et tuis erit. Quo libentius suscipio, depono etiam, quod iniungis.

Erat Miseni classemque imperio praesens regebat. 4 Nonum Kal. Septembres hora fere septima mater mea indicat ei apparere nubem invisitata et magnitudine et specie. Usus ille sole, mox frigida, gustaverat iacens 5 studebatque; poscit soleas, ascendit locum, ex quo maxime miraculum illud conspici poterat. Nubes, incertum procul intuentibus, ex quo monte (Vesuvium fuisse postea cognitum est), oriebatur, cuius similitudinem et formam non alia magis arbor quam pinus expresserit. Nam longissimo velut trunco elata in altum quibusdam 6 ramis diffundebatur, credo, quia recenti spiritu evecta, dein senescente eo destituta aut etiam pondere suo victa in latitudinem vanescebat; candida interdum, interdum sordida et maculosa, prout terram cineremve sustulerat. Magnum propiusque noscendum ut eruditissimo viro 7 visum. Iubet Liburnicam aptari; mihi, si venire una vellem, facit copiam. Respondi studere me malle, et forte ipse, quod scriberem, dederat. Egrediebatur domo; 8 accipit codicillos Rectinae Tasci imminenti periculo exterritae (nam villa eius subiacebat, nec ulla nisi navibus fuga); ut se tanto discrimini eriperet, orabat. Vertit ille consilium et, quod studioso animo incohaverat, 9 obit maximo. Deducit quadriremes, ascendit ipse non Rectinae modo sed multis (erat enim frequens amoenitas orae) laturus auxilium. Properat illuc, unde alii fugiunt, 10

rectumque cursum, recta gubernacula in periculum tenet adeo solutus metu, ut omnis illius mali motus, omnis figuras, ut deprenderat oculis, dictaret enotaretque.

11 Iam navibus cinis incidebat, quo propius accederent, calidior et densior, iam pumices etiam nigrique et ambusfi et fracti igne lapides, iam vadum subitum ruinaque montis litora obstantia. Cunctatus paulum an retro flecteret, mox gubernatori, ut ita faceret, monenti 'Fortes' inquit 'fortuna iuvat. Pomponianum

12 pete.' Stabiis erat diremptus sinu medio (nam sensim circumactis curvatisque litoribus mare infunditur); ibi, quamquam nondum periculo adpropinquante, conspicuo tamen et, cum cresceret, proximo, sarcinas contulerat in naves certus fugae, si contrarius ventus resedisset; quo tunc avunculus meus secundissimo invectus complectitur trepidantem, consolatur, hortatur, utque timorem eius sua securitate leniret, deferri in balineum iubet; lotus accubat, cenat aut hilaris aut, quod est aequum magnum,

13 similis hilari. Interim e Vesuvio monte pluribus locis latissimae flammae altaque incendia relucebant, quorum fulgor et claritas tenebris noctis excitabatur. Ille agrestium trepidatione ignis relictos desertasque villas per solitudinem ardere in remedium formidinis dictitabat. Tum se quieti dedit et quievit verissimo quidem somno. Nam meatus animae, qui illi propter amplitudinem corporis gravior et sonantior erat, ab iis, qui limini

14 obversabantur, audiebatur. Sed area, ex qua diaeta adibatur, ita iam cinere mixtisque pumicibus oppleta surrexerat, ut, si longior in cubiculo mora, exitus negaretur. Excitatus procedit seque Pomponiano ceteris-

15 que, qui pervigilaverant, reddit. In commune consultant, intra tecta subsistant an in aperto vagentur. Nam

crebris vastisque tremoribus tecta nutabant et quasi emota sedibus suis nunc huc, nunc illuc abire aut referri videbantur. Sub dio rursus quamquam levium exeso- 16 rumque pumicum casus metuebatur; quod tamen periculi collatio elegit. Et apud illum quidem ratio rationem, apud alios timorem timor vicit. Cervicalia capitibus inposita linteis constringunt; id munimentum adversus incidentia fuit. Iam dies alibi, illic nox omnibus 17 noctibus nigrior densiorque; quam tamen facies multae variaeque lumina solabantur. Placuit egredi in litus et ex proximo aspicere, ecquid iam mare admitteret; quod adhuc vastum et adversum permanebat. Ibi super 18 abiectum linteum recubans semel atque iterum frigidam poposcit hausitque. Deinde flammae flammarumque praenuntius odor sulphuris alios in fugam vertunt, excitant illum. Innixus servolis duobus adsurrexit et statim 19 concidit, ut ego coniecto, crassiore caligine spiritu obstructo clausoque stomacho, qui illi natura invalidus et angustus et frequenter interaestivans erat. Ubi dies 20 redditus (is ab eo, quem novissime viderat, erat tertius), corpus inventum integrum, inlaesum opertumque, ut fuerat indutus; habitus corporis quiescenti quam defuncto similior.

Interim Miseni ego et mater. Sed nihil ad historiam, 21 nec tu aliud quam de exitu eius scire voluisti. Finem 22 ergo faciam. Unum adiciam, omnia me, quibus interfueram, quaeque statim, cum maxime vera memorantur, audieram, persecutum. Tu potissima excerpes. Aliud est enim epistolam, aliud historiam, aliud amico, aliud omnibus scribere. Vale.

17

C. PLINIUS RESTITUTO SUO S.

1 Indignatiunculam, quam in cuiusdam amici auditorio
cepi, non possum mihi temperare quo minus apud te,
quia non contingit coram, per epistolam effundam.
2 Recitabatur liber absolutissimus. Hunc duo aut tres, ut
sibi et paucis videntur, deserti, surdis mutisque similes
audiebant. Non labra diduxerunt, non moverunt
manum, non denique adsurrexerunt, saltem lassitudine
3 sedendi. Quae tanta gravitas? quae tanta sapientia?
quae immo pigritia, adrogantia, sinisteritas ac potius
amentia, in hoc totum diem inpendere, ut offendas, ut
inimicum relinquo, ad quem tamquam amicissimum
4 veneris? Desertior ipse es? Tanto magis ne invideris.
Nam, qui invidet, minor est. Denique, sive plus sive
minus sive idem praestas, lauda vel inferiorem vel
superiorem vel parem, superiorem, quia, nisi laudandus
ille, non potes ipse laudari, inferiorem aut parem, quia
pertinet ad tuam gloriam quam maximum videri, quem
5 praecedis vel exaequas. Equidem omnis, qui aliquid
in studiis faciunt, venerari etiam mirarique soleo. Est
enim res difficilis, ardua, fastidiosa, et quae eos, a quibus
contemnitur, invicem contemnat. Nisi forte aliud iudicas
tu. Quamquam quis uno te reverentior huius operis,
6 quis benignior aestimator? Qua ratione ductus tibi
potissimum indignationem meam prodidi, quem habere
socium maxime poteram. Vale.

18

C. PLINIUS SABINO SUO S.

Rogas, ut agam Firmanorum publicam causam; 1
quod ego, quamquam plurimis occupationibus distentus,
adnitar. Cupio enim et ornatissimam coloniam advo-
cationis officio et te gratissimo tibi munere obstringere.
Nam, cum familiaritatem nostram, ut soles praedicare, ad 2
praesidium ornamentumque tibi sumpseris, nihil est
quod negare debeam, praesertim pro patria petenti.
Quid enim precibus aut honestius piis aut efficacius
amantis? Proinde Firmanis tuis ac iam potius nostris 3
obliga fidem meam; quos labore et studio meo dignos
cum splendor ipsorum tum hoc maxime pollicetur, quod
credibile est optimos esse, inter quos tu talis moreris.
Vale.

19

C. PLINIUS NEPOTI SUO S.

Scis tu accessisse pretium agris, praecipue subur- 1
banis. Causa subitae caritatis res multis agitata ser-
monibus. Proximis comitiis honestissimas voces senatus
expressit: 'Candidati ne conviventur, ne mittant munera,
ne pecunias deponant.' Ex quibus duo priora tam 2
aperte quam immodice fiebant, hoc tertium, quamquam
occultaretur, pro comperto habebatur. Homullus deinde 3
noster vigilanter usus hoc consensu senatus sententiae
loco postulavit, ut consules desiderium universorum
notum principi facerent peterentque, sicut aliis vitiis
huic quoque providentia sua occurreret. Occurrit; nam 4
sumptus candidatorum foedos illos et infames ambitus

lege restrinxit; eosdem patrimonii tertiam partem conferre iussit in ea, quae solo continerentur, deforme arbitratus, ut erat, honorem petituos urbem Italiamque non pro patria sed pro hospitio aut stabulo quasi peregrinantis
5 habere. Concursant ergo candidati; certatim, quidquid venale audiunt, emptitant, quoque sint plura venalia,
6 efficiunt. Proinde, si paenitet te Italicorum praediorum, hoc vendendi tempus tam hercule quam in provinciis comparandi, dum iidem candidati illic vendunt, ut hic emant. Vale.

20

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

- 1 Ais te adductum litteris, quas exigenti tibi de morte avunculi mei scripsi, cupere cognoscere, quos ego Miseni relictus (id enim ingressus abruperam) non solum metus, verum etiam casus pertulerim. 'Quamquam animus meminisse horret, incipiam.'
- 2 Profecto avunculo ipse reliquum tempus studiis (ideo enim remanseram) inpendi; mox balineum, cena, somnus
3 inquietus et brevis. Praecesserat per multos dies tremor terrae minus formidolosus, quia Campaniae solitus; illa vero nocte ita invaluit, ut non moveri omnia sed verti
4 crederentur. Inrumpit cubiculum meum mater; surgebam invicem, si quiesceret, excitaturus. Resedimus in area domus, quae mare a tectis modico spatio dividebat.
- 5 Dubito, constantiam vocare an imprudentiam debeam; agebam enim duodevicesimum annum. Posco librum Titi Livi et quasi per otium lego atque etiam, ut coeperam, excerpo. Ecce amicus avunculi, qui nuper ad eum ex Hispania venerat, ut me et matrem sedentis, me vero etiam legentem videt, illius patientiam, securita-

tem meam corripit. Nihilo segnius ego intentus in librum. Iam hora diei prima, et adhuc dubius et quasi 6 languidus dies. Iam quassatis circumiacentibus tectis, quamquam in aperto loco, angusto tamen, magnus et certus ruinae metus. Tum demum excedere oppido 7 visum. Sequitur vulgus attonitum, quodque in pavore simile prudentiae, alienum consilium suo praefert ingentique agmine abeuntis premit et inpellit. Egressi tecta 8 consistimus. Multa ibi miranda, multas formidines patimur. Nam vehicula, quae produci iusseramus, quamquam in planissimo campo, in contrarias partis agebantur ac ne lapidibus quidem tulta in eodem vestigio quiescebant. Praeterea mare in se resorberi et 9 tremore terrae quasi repelli videbamus. Certe processerat litus multaque animalia maris siccis harenis detinebat. Ab altero latere nubes atra et horrenda, ignei spiritus tortis vibratisque discursibus rupta, in longas flammaram figuras dehiscebat; fulguribus illae et similes et maiores erant. Tum vero idem ille ex Hispania amicus acrius 10 et instantius 'Si frater' inquit 'tuus, tuus avunculus vivit, vult esse vos salvos; si perit, superstites voluit. Proinde quid cessatis evadere?' Respondimus non commissuros nos, ut de salute illius incerti nostrae consuleremus. Non moratus ultra proripit se effusoque 11 cursu periculo aufertur. Nec multo post illa nubes descendere in terras, operire maria; cinxerat Capreas et absconderat, Miseni quod procurrit, abstulerat. Tum 12 mater orare, hortari, iubere, quoquo modo fugerem; posse enim iuvenem, se et annis et corpore gravem bene morituram, si mihi causa mortis non fuisset. Ego contra salvum me nisi una non futurum; deinde manum eius amplexus addere gradum cogo. Paret aegre incusatque

- 13 se, quod me moretur. Iam cinis, adhuc tamen rarus. Respicio; densa caligo tergis imminebat, quae nos torrentis modo infusa terrae sequebatur. 'Deflectamus' inquam, 'dum videmus, ne in via strati comitantium
 14 turba in tenebris obteramur. Vix consideramus, et nox, non qualis inlunis aut nubila, sed qualis in locis clausis lumine extincto. Audires ululatus teminarum, infantium quiritatus, clamores virorum; alii parentes, alii liberos, alii coniuges vocibus requirebant, vocibus noscitabant; hi suum casum, illi suorum miserabantur; erant, qui metu
 15 mortis mortem precarentur; multi ad deos manus tollere, plures nusquam iam deos ullos aeternamque illam et novissimam noctem mundo interpretabantur. Nec defuerunt, qui fictis mentisque terroribus vera pericula augerent. Aderant, qui Miseni illud ruisse, illud ardere
 16 falso, sed credentibus nuntiabant. Paulum reluxit; quod non dies nobis, sed adventantis ignis indicium videbatur. Et ignis quidem longius substitit, tenebrae rursus, cinis rursus multus et gravis. Hunc identidem adsurgentes excutiebamur; operi alioqui atque etiam oblisi pondere
 17 essemus. Possem gloriari non gemitum mihi, non vocem parum fortem in tantis periculis excidisse, nisi me cum omnibus, omnia mecum perire, misero, magno tamen
 18 mortalitatis solacio, credidissem. Tandem illa caligo tenuata quasi in fumum nebulamve discessit; mox dies verus, sol etiam effulsit, luridus tamen, qualis esse, cum deficit, solet. Occursabant trepidantibus adhuc oculis mutata omnia altoque cinere tamquam nive obducta.
 19 Regressi Misenum curatis utcunque corporibus suspensam dubiamque noctem spe ac metu exegimus. Metus praevalebat; nam et tremor terrae perseverabat, et ple-rique lymphati terrificis vaticinationibus et sua et aliena

mala ludificabantur. Nobis tamen ne tunc quidem, 20 quamquam et expertis periculum et exspectantibus, abundi consilium, donec de avunculo nuntius.

Haec nequaquam historia digna non scripturus leges, et tibi, scilicet qui requisisti, imputabis, si digna ne epistula quidem videbuntur. Vale.

21

C. PLINIUS CANINIO SUO S.

Sum ego is, qui mirer antiquos, non tamen ut quidam 1 temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio. Neque enim quasi lassa et effeta natura nihil iam laudabile parit. Atque adeo nuper audiui Vergilium Romanum paucis 2 legentem comoediam ad exemplar veteris comoediae scriptam tam bene, ut esse quandoque possit exemplar. Nescio, an noris hominem. Quamquam nosse debes; 3 est enim probitate morum, ingenii elegantia, operum varietate monstrabilis. Scripsit mimiambos tenuiter, 4 argute, venuste atque in hoc genere eloquentissime (nullum est enim genus, quod absolutum non possit eloquentissimum dici); scripsit comoedias Menandrum aliosque aetatis eiusdem aemulatus; licet has inter Plautinas Terentianasque numeres. Nunc primum se in 5 vetere comoedia, sed non tamquam inciperet, ostendit. Non illi vis, non granditas, non subtilitas, non amaritudo, non dulcedo, non lepos defuit; ornavit virtutes, insectatus est vitia; fictis nominibus decenter, veris usus est apte. Circa me tantum benignitate nimia modum excessit, nisi 6 quod tamen poetis mentiri licet. In summa extorquebo 7 ei librum legendumque, immo ediscendum mittam tibi; neque enim dubito futurum ut non deponas, si semel sumpseris. Vale.

22

C. PLINIUS TIRONI SUO S.

1 Magna res acta est omnium, qui sunt provinciis prae-
 futuri, magna omnium, qui se simpliciter credunt amicis.
 2 Lustricus Bruttianus cum Montanium Atticinum, com-
 item suum, in multis flagitiis deprendisset, Caesari scripsit.
 Atticinus flagitiis addidit, ut, quem deceperat, accusaret.
 Recepta cognitio est. Fui in consilio; egit uterque pro
 se, egit autem carptim et κατὰ κεφάλαιον, quo genere
 3 veritas statim ostenditur. Protulit Bruttianus testamen-
 tum suum, quod Atticini manu scriptum esse dicebat;
 hoc enim et arcana familiaritas et querendi de eo, quem
 4 sic amasset, necessitas indicabatur. Enumeravit crimina
 foeda manifesta; quae ille, cum diluere non posset, ita
 regessit, ut, dum defenditur, turpis, dum accusat, scelera-
 tus probaretur. Corrupto enim scribae servo interceperat
 commentarios intercideratque, ac per summum nefas
 5 utebatur adversus amicum crimine suo. Fecit pulcherrime
 Caesar; non enim de Bruttiano sed statim de Atticino
 perrogavit. Damnatus et in insulam relegatus; Bruttiano
 iustissimum integritatis testimonium redditum, quem
 6 quidem etiam constantiae gloria secuta est. Nam
 defensu expeditissime accusavit vehementer nec minus
 7 acer quam bonus et sincerus apparuit. Quod tibi scripsi,
 ut te sortitum provinciam praemonerem, plurimum tibi
 credas nec cuiquam satis fidas, deinde scias, si quis forte
 te, quod abominor, fallat, paratam ultionem; qua tamen
 8 ne sit opus, etiam atque etiam attende. Neque enim
 tam iucundum est vindicari quam decipi miserum.
 Vale.

23

C. PLINIUS TRIARIO SUO S.

Impense petis, ut agam causam pertinentem ad curam 1
 tuam, pulchram alioqui et famosam. Faciam, sed non
 gratis. 'Qui fieri potest' inquis, 'ut non gratis tu?'
 Potest; exigam enim mercedem honestiorem gratuito
 patrocinio. Peto atque etiam paciscor, ut simul agat 2
 Cremutius Ruso. Solitum hoc mihi et iam in pluribus
 claris adolescentibus factitatum. Nam mire concupisco
 bonos iuvenes ostendere foro, adsignare famae. Quod 3
 si cui praestare, Rusoni meo debeo vel propter natales
 ipsius vel propter eximiam mei caritatem; quem magni
 aestimo in isdem iudiciis, ex isdem etiam partibus
 conspici, audiri. Obliga me, obliga, ante quam dicat; 4
 nam, cum dixerit, gratias ages. Spondeo sollicitudini
 tuae, spei meae, magnitudini causae suffecturum. Est
 indolis optima, brevi producturus alios, si interim pro-
 ductus fuerit a nobis. Neque enim cuiquam tam clarum 5
 statim ingenium, ut possit emergere, nisi illi materia,
 occasio, fautor etiam commendatorque contingat. Vale.

24

C. PLINIUS MACRO SUO S.

Quam multum interest, a quo quidque fiat! Eadem 1
 enim facta claritate vel obscuritate facientium aut tollun-
 tur altissime aut humillime deprimuntur. Navigabam 2
 per Larium nostrum, cum senior amicus ostendit mihi
 villam atque etiam cubiculum, quod in lacum prominet.
 'Ex hoc' inquit 'aliquando municeps nostra cum marito
 se praecipitavit.' Causam requisivi. Maritus ex diutino 3

morbo circa velanda corporis ulceribus putrescebat; uxor, ut inspiceret, exegit; neque enim quemquam
 4 fidelius indicaturum, possetne sanari. Vidit, desperavit; hortata est, ut moreretur, comesque ipsa mortis, dux immo et exemplum et necessitas fuit. Nam se cum
 5 marito ligavit abiecitque in lacum. Quod factum ne mihi quidem, qui municeps, nisi proxime auditum est, non quia minus illo clarissimo Arriae facto, sed quia minor ipsa. Vale.

25

C. PLINIUS HISPANO SUO S.

1 Scribis Robustum, splendidum equitem Romanum, cum Atilio Scauro, amico meo, Ocriculum usque commune iter peregrisse, deinde nusquam comparuisse; petis, ut Scaurus veniat nosque, si potest, in aliqua inquisitionis
 2 vestigia inducat. Veniet; vereor, ne frustra. Suspicio enim tale nescio quid Robusto accidisse quale aliquando
 3 Metilio Crispo, municipi meo. Huic ego ordinem inpetraueram atque etiam proficiscenti quadraginta milia nummum ad instruendum se ornandumque donaveram, nec postea aut epistulas eius aut aliquem de exitu
 4 nuntium accepi. Interceptusne sit a suis an cum suis, dubium; certe non ipse, non quisquam ex servis eius
 5 apparuit. Ut ne in Robusto quoque idem experiamur. Tamen accersamus Scaurum; demus hoc tuis, demus optimi adulescentis honestissimis precibus, qui pietate mira, mira etiam sagacitate patrem quaerit. Di faveant, ut sic inveniatur ipsum, quemadmodum iam, cum quo fuisset, invenit! Vale.

26

C. PLINIUS SERVIANO SUO S.

Gaudeo et gratulor, quod Fusco Salinatori filiam tuam 1 destinasti. Domus patricia, pater honestissimus, mater pari laude; ipse studiosus, litteratus, etiam disertus, puer simplicitate, comitate iuvenis, senex gravitate; neque enim amore decipior. Amo quidem effuse (ita officiis, ita 2 reverentia meruit), iudico tamen, et quidem tanto acrius, quanto magis amo, tibi, ut qui exploraverim, spondeo habiturum te generum, quo melior fingi ne voto quidem potuit. Superest, ut avum te quam maturissime similitum 3 sui faciat. Quam felix tempus illud, quo mihi liberos illius, nepotes tuos ut meos vel liberos vel nepotes ex vestro sinu sumere et quasi pari iure tenere continget! Vale.

27

C. PLINIUS SEVERO SUO S.

Rogas, ut cogitem, quid designatus consul in honorem 1 principis censeas. Facilis inventio, non facilis electio; est enim ex virtutibus eius larga materia. Scribam tamen vel, quod malo, coram indicabo, si prius haesitationem meam ostendero. Dubito, num idem tibi suadere quod mihi debeam. Designatus ego consul omni hac, etsi non 2 adulatione, specie tamen adulationis abstinui, non tamquam liber et constans, sed tamquam intellegens principis nostri, cuius videbam hanc esse praecipuam laudem, si nihil quasi ex necessitate decernerem. Recordabar etiam 3 plurimos honores pessimo cuique delatos, a quibus hic optimus separari non alio magis poterat quam diversitate

censendi; quod ipsum non dissimulatione et silentio praeterii, ne forte non iudicium illud meum sed oblivio
 4 videretur. Hoc tunc ego; sed non omnibus eadem placent, nec conveniunt quidem. Praeterea faciendi aliquid non faciendive ratio cum hominum ipsorum tum
 5 rerum etiam ac temporum condicione mutatur. Nam recentia opera maximi principis praebent facultatem nova, magna, vera censendi. Quibus ex causis, ut supra scripsi, dubito, an idem nunc tibi quod tunc mihi suadeam. Illud non dubito, debuisse me in parte consilii tui ponere, quid ipse fecissem. Vale.

28

C. PLINIUS PONTIO ALLIFANO SUO S.

1 Scio, quae tibi causa fuerit impedimento, quo minus praecurrere adventum meum in Campaniam posses. Sed, quamquam absens, totus huc migrasti; tantum mihi copiarum qua urbanarum qua rusticarum nomine tuo
 2 oblatum est, quas omnis inprobe accepi tamen. Nam me tui, ut ita facerem, rogabant, et verebar, ne et mihi et illis irascereris, si non fecissem. In posterum, nisi adhibueris modum, ego adhibebo. Et iam tuis denuntiavi, si rursus tam multa attulissent, omnia relaturos.
 3 Dices oportere me tuis rebus ut meis uti. Etiam; sed perinde illis ac meis parco. Vale.

29

C. PLINIUS QUADRATO SUO S.

1 Avidius Quietus, qui me unice dilexit et, quo non minus gaudeo, probavit, ut multa alia Thraseae (fuit enim familiaris) ita hoc saepe reterebat, praecipere

solitum suscipiendas esse causas aut amicorum aut destitutas aut ad exemplum pertinentes. Cur amicorum, 2 non eget interpretatione; cur destitutas? quod in illis maxime et constantia agentis et humanitas cerneretur; cur pertinentis ad exemplum? quia plurimum referret, bonum an malum induceretur. Ad haec ego genera 3 causarum ambitiose fortasse, addam tamen claras et inlustres. Aequum est enim agere non numquam gloriae et famae, id est suam, causam. Hos terminos, quia me consulisti, dignitati ac verecundiae tuae statuo. Nec 4 me praeterit usum et esse et haberi optimum dicendi magistrum; video etiam multos parvo ingenio, litteris nullis, ut bene agerent, agendo consecutos. Sed et 5 illud, quod vel Pollionis vel tamquam Pollionis accepi, verissimum expior: 'Commode agendo factum est, ut saepe agerem, saepe agendo, ut minus commode'; quia scilicet adsiduitate nimia facilitas magis quam facultas nec fiducia sed temeritas paratur. Nec vero Isocrati, quo 6 minus haberetur summus orator, offecit, quod infirmitate vocis, mollitia frontis, ne in publico diceret, impediatur. Proinde multum lege, scribe, meditare, ut possis, cum voles, dicere; dices, cum velle debebis. Hoc fere tem- 7 peramentum ipse servavi; non numquam necessitati, quae pars rationis est, parui. Egi enim quasdam a senatu iussus, quo tamen in numero fuerunt ex illa Thraseae divisione, hoc est ad exemplum pertinentes. Adfui 8 Baeticis contra Baebium Massam. Quaesitum est, an danda esset inquisitio; data est. Adfui rursus isdem querentibus de Caecilio Classico. Quaesitum est, an provinciales ut socios ministrosque proconsulis plecti oporteret; poenas luerunt. Accusavi Marium Priscum, 9 qui lege repetundarum damnatus utebatur clementia

legis, cuius severitatem inmanitate criminum excesserat;
 10 relegatus est. Tuitus sum Iulium Bassum ut incus-
 toditum nimis et incautum ita minime malum; iudicibus
 11 acceptis in senatu remansit. Dixi proxime pro Vareno
 postulante, ut sibi invicem evocare testes liceret;
 impetratum est. In posterum opto ut ea potissimum
 iubeam, quae me deceat vel sponte fecisse. Vale.

30

C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

1 Debemus mehercule natales tuos perinde ac nostros
 celebrare, cum laetitia nostrorum ex tuis pendeat, cuius
 2 diligentia et cura hic hilares, istic securi sumus. Villa
 Camilliana, quam in Campania possides, est quidem
 vetustate vexata; ea tamen, quae sunt pretiosiora, aut
 3 integra manent aut levissime laesa sunt. Attendemus
 ergo, ut quam saluberrime reficiantur. Ego videor
 habere multos amicos, sed huius generis, cuius et tu
 4 quaeris et res exigit, prope neminem. Sunt enim omnes
 togati et urbani; rusticorum autem praediorum admini-
 stratio poscit durum aliquem et agrestem, cui nec labor
 ille gravis nec cura sordida nec tristis solitudo videatur.
 5 Tu de Rufo honestissime cogitas; fuit enim filio tuo
 familiaris. Quid tamen nobis ibi praestare possit, ignoro,
 velle plurimum credo. Vale.

31

C. PLINIUS CORNELIANO SUO S.

1 Evocatus in consilium a Caesare nostro ad Centum
 Cellas (hoc loco nomen) maximam cepi voluptatem.
 2 Quid enim iucundius quam principis iustitiam, gravita-

tem, comitatem in secessu quoque, ubi maxime recludun-
 tur, inspicere? Fuerunt variae cognitiones, et quae
 virtutes iudicis per plures species experirentur. Dixit 3
 causam Claudius Aristion, princeps Ephesiorum, homo
 munificus et innoxie popularis. Inde invidia et ab
 dissimillimis delator inmissus. Itaque absolutus vindicatusque est.

Sequenti die audita est Gallitta adulterii rea. Nupta 4
 haec tribuno militum honores petiit et suam et mariti
 dignitatem centurionis amore maculaverat. Maritus
 legato consulari, ille Caesari scripserat. Caesar excussis 5
 probationibus centurionem exauctoravit atque etiam
 relegavit. Supererat crimini, quod nisi duorum esse non
 poterat, reliqua pars ultionis; sed maritum non sine aliqua
 reprehensione patientiae amor uxoris retardabat, quam
 quidem etiam post delatum adulterium domi habuerat
 quasi contentus aemulum removisse. Admonitus, ut 6
 perageret accusationem, peregit invitus. Sed illam
 damnari etiam invito accusatore necesse erat; damnata
 et Iuliae legis poenis relicta est. Caesar et nomen
 centurionis et commemorationem disciplinae militaris
 sententiae adiecit, ne omnis eius modi causas revocare
 ad se videretur.

Tertio die inducta cognitio est multis sermonibus 7
 et vario rumore iactata, Iuli Tironis codicilli, quos ex
 parte veros esse constabat, ex parte falsi dicebantur.
 Substituiebantur crimini Sempronius Senecio, eques 8
 Romanus, et Eurythmus, Caesaris libertus et procurator.
 Heredes, cum Caesar esset in Dacia, communiter epistula
 scripta petierant, ut susciperet cognitionem. Susceperat.
 Reversus diem dederat et, cum ex heredibus quidam 9
 quasi reverentia Eurythmi omitterent accusationem,

- pulcherrime dixerat: 'Nec ille Polyclitus est nec ego Nero.' Indulserat tamen petentibus dilationem, cuius
 10 tempore exacto consederat auditurus. A parte heredum intraverunt duo omnino; postulaverunt, ut aut omnes heredes agere cogerentur, cum detulissent omnes, aut sibi
 11 quoque desistere permetteretur. Locutus est Caesar summa gravitate, summa moderatione, cumque advocatus Senecionis et Eurythmi dixisset suspicionibus relinqui reos, nisi audirentur, 'Non curo' inquit, 'an isti sus-
 12 picionibus relinquuntur, ego relinquo.' Dein conversus ad nos: 'Επιστήσατε, quid facere debeamus; isti enim quaeri nolunt, quod sibi licuerit non accusare.' Tum ex consilii sententia iussit denuntiari heredibus omnibus, aut agerent aut singuli adprobarent causas non agendi; alioqui se vel de calumnia pronuntiaturum.
 13 Vides, quam honesti, quam severi dies; quos iucundissimae remissiones sequebantur. Adhibebamur cotidie cenae; erat modica, si principem cogitares. Interdum acroamata audiebamus, interdum iucundissimis sermonibus
 14 nox ducebatur. Summo die abeuntibus nobis (tam diligens in Caesare humanitas) xenia sunt missa. Sed mihi ut gravitas cognitionum, consilii honor, suavitas simplicitasque convictus, ita locus ipse periucundus fuit.
 15 Villa pulcherrima cingitur viridissimis agris, imminet litori; cuius in sinu fit cum maxime portus. Huius sinistrum brachium firmissimo opere munitum est, dex-
 16 trum elaboratur. In ore portus insula adsurgit, quae inlatum vento mare obiacens frangat tutumque ab utroque latere decursum navibus praestet. Adsurgit autem arte visenda; ingentia saxa latissima navis provehit; haec alia super alia deiecta ipso pondere manent ac
 17 sensim quodam velut aggere construuntur. Eminet

iam et apparet saxeum dorsum incompactosque fluctus in inensum elidit et tollit. Vastus illic fragor canumque circa mare. Saxis deinde pilae adicientur, quae procedente tempore enatam insulam imitentur. Habebit hic portus et iam habet nomen auctoris, eritque vel maxime salutaris. Nam per longissimum spatium litus inportuosum hoc receptaculo utetur. Vale.

32

C. PLINIUS QUINTILIANO SUO S.

Quamvis et ipse sis continentissimus et filiam tuam ita 1 institueris, ut decebat tuam filiam, Tutili neptem, cum tamen sit nuptura honestissimo viro, Nonio Celeri, cui ratio civilium officiorum necessitatem quandam nitoris inponit, debet secundum condicionem mariti veste, comitatu augeri; quibus non quidem augetur dignitas, ornatur tamen et instruitur. Te porro animo beatissi- 2 mum, modicum facultatibus scio. Itaque partem oneris tui mihi vindico et tamquam parens alter puellae nostrae confero quinquaginta milia nummum, plus collaturus, nisi a verecundia tua sola mediocritate munusculi impetrari posse confiderem, ne recusares. Vale.

33

C. PLINIUS ROMANO SUO S.

'Tollite cuncta' inquit 'coeptosque auferte labores.' 1 Seu scribis aliquid seu legis, tolli, auferri iube et accipe orationem meam ut illa arma divinam (num superbius potui?), re vera ut inter meas pulchram; nam mihi satis est certare mecum. Est haec pro Attia Viriola et 2 dignitate personae et exempli raritate et iudicii magnitu-

tudine insignis. Nam femina splendide nata, nupta praetorio viro, exheredata ab octogenario patre intra undecim dies, quam ille novercam ei amore captus induxerat, quadruplici iudicio bona paterna repetebat.

3 Sedebant centum et octoginta iudices (tot enim quattuor consiliis conscribuntur), ingens utrimque advocatio et numerosa subsellia, praeterea densa circumstantium corona latissimum iudicium multiplici circulo ambibat.

4 Ad hoc stipatum tribunal, atque etiam ex superiore basilicae parte qua feminae qua viri et audiendi, quod difficile, et, quod facile, visendi studio imminebant.

Magna expectatio patrum, magna filiarum, magna etiam
5 novercarum. Secutus est varius eventus. Nam duobus consiliis vicimus, totidem victi sumus. Notabilis prorsus et mira eadem in causa, isdem iudicibus, isdem advocatis, eodem tempore tanta diversitas accidit, casu, quod non
6 casus videretur. Victa est noverca ipsa heres ex parte sexta, victus Suberinus, qui exheredatus a patre singulari impudentia alieni patris bona vindicabat non ausus sui petere.

7 Haec tibi exposui, primum ut ex epistula scires, quae ex oratione non poteras, deinde (nam detegam artes) ut orationem libentius legeres, si non legere tibi sed interesse iudicio videreris; quam, sit licet magna, non
8 despero gratiam brevissimae impetraturam. Nam et copia rerum et arguta divisione et narratiunculis pluribus et eloquendi varietate renovatur. Sunt multa (non auderem nisi tibi dicere) elata, multa pugnacia, multa
9 subtilia. Intervenit enim acribus illis et erectis frequens necessitas computandi ac paene calculos tabulamque poscendi, ut repente in privati iudicii formam
10 centumvirale vertatur. Dedimus vela indignationi,

dedimus irae, dedimus dolori, et in amplissima causa quasi magno mari pluribus ventis sumus vecti. In summa 11 solent quidam ex contubernalibus nostris existimare hanc orationem (iterum dicam) ut inter meas *ὡς ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος* esse; an vere, tu facillime iudicabis, qui tam memoriter tenes omnes, ut conferre cum hac, dum hanc solam legis, possis. Vale.

34

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

Recte fecisti, quod gladiatorium munus Veronensibus 1 nostris promisisti, a quibus olim amaris, suspiceris, ornaris. Inde etiam uxorem carissimam tibi et probatissimam habuisti, cuius memoriae aut opus aliquod aut spectaculum atque hoc potissimum quod maxime funeri debebatur. Praeterea tanto consensu rogabaris, ut negare non con- 2 stans, sed durum videretur. Illud quoque egregie, quod tam facilis, tam liberalis in edendo fuisti. Nam per 3 haec etiam magnus animus ostenditur. Vellem Africanae, quas coemeras plurimas, ad praefinitum diem occurrissent. Sed, licet cessaverint illae tempestate detentae, tu tamen meruisti, ut acceptum tibi fieret, quod quo minus exhiberes, non per te stetit. Vale.

NOTES.

The numbers refer to the sections.

LETTER I.

TO TIRO.

Calestrius Tiro was a contemporary of Pliny's. They were colleagues in several public offices, and very intimate in private life. The other letters addressed to him are i, 12; vi, 22; ix, 5.

1. With *ego*, supply *eram*, with *tu*, *eras*: any tense of *esse* is frequently omitted in colloquial or idiomatic Latin. Notice the asyndeton, or absence of a particle between the clauses: English requires 'and.'

trans Padum, i.e. at Comum, Pliny's native town in Gallia Transpadana.

Piceno: Picenum, where Tiro had been spending his holiday, is a district of Italy on the E. coast. Pliny, returning first to his work, misses his friend more than when both were away from Rome.

acrius, 'more vividly.'

vicinitas: Rome is much nearer Picenum than Picenum is to Comum.

quo..., **hoc**, lit. 'by how much...', by that much': *hoc* is not governed by *careas*.

accesseris...careas: the second person is not addressed to Tiro, but expresses a general truth: we might say 'the nearer one gets...'

2. **in causa**: supply *est*.

tormento: Cicero would have written *eripe mihi hoc tormentum*,

or at least *ex hoc t.* rather than the dative; also he would not have used *tormentum* as here in the sense of *dolor*.

vel may be translated 'if': it was originally an imperative of *velle* and hence means 'have it,' 'take it,' as in *vel maximus*.

an: Cicero would use *num* here where no alternative is expressed.

LETTER 2.

TO ARRIANUS.

Maturus Arrianus was a native of Altinum at the N. end of the Adriatic. He was a Roman knight and therefore socially inferior to Pliny, a senator. He is, however, a favoured correspondent; and the following letters are addressed to him: i, 2; ii, 11 and 12; iv, 8 and 12; viii, 21.

1. *in iudiciis*, 'in the law-courts.'

quaerere, 'to miss'; *desiderare*, 'to want him back.'

Regulum: M. Aquilius Regulus was one of the most prominent persons of the time. Most of our information about him is derived from Pliny, who tells many stories about him, not to his credit. He first came to notice as a *delator*: i.e. he informed against and prosecuted innocent persons on charges of treason (*maiestas*) against Nero and Domitian. Thus he became feared and rich; but in spite of his wealth he was a shameless legacy-hunter (*captator*). Pliny speaks with contempt of his oratorical powers and quotes an epigram of Herennius Senecio who, changing Cato's definition of an orator as *vir bonus dicendi peritus*, defined Regulus as *vir malus dicendi imperitus* (iv, 7 § 5).

2. *habebat* etc., 'he showed respect for eloquence': *studia* generally = 'literature,' but has here a restricted meaning: cf. Pliny, *Paneg.* 47 *ut sub te* (Trajan) *spiritum et sanguinem et patriam receperunt studia!*, where it denotes oratory and philosophy.

scribebat etc.: orators wrote out their speeches in order to learn them by heart (*ediscere*): Regulus having no memory (iv, 7 § 4) could not learn his speeches; and yet he took the trouble to write them out.

illud ipsum, 'even the fact.'

circumlinebat: he drew a circle with some lotion or ointment.

a, 'on the side of': we should say 'for.'

petitor is 'the plaintiff,' *possessor* 'the defendant,' in a civil action, such as were tried in the court of *centumviri*: see n. to 33 § 2.

acturus, 'about to speak': so *actio*, 'a speech,' *actor*, 'a speaker.'

splenum, 'a patch': from other writers it appears that in Roman society men wore these patches—bits of adhesive plaster—to conceal defects or to improve their appearance: but Regulus disfigured himself for luck: white (*candidum*) was a lucky colour.

haruspices: so Juvenal (*Sat.* 6, 385) tells of a lady who consults the soothsayers to know if her favourite musician will win the prize at a contest.

et, 'also.'

3. *iam*, 'besides.'

illa, *τὰδε*, lit. 'the following things.'

una dicentibus: Pliny constantly spoke in the same court as Regulus.

libera, 'unlimited': he asked to speak for as long as he liked.

auditu would be *qui audirent* in Cicero: for *corroga*, ('invite'), cf. ii, 14 § 9 *hunc morem induxit, ut auditores corrogaret*.

sub, 'with,' lit. 'under condition of': Cicero would use *cum*. Regulus, who insisted on these conditions, would get all the blame, while the other barristers would share the advantages.

velis, 'one likes': see n. to *accesseris* i § 1.

deprehensum, 'taken by surprise.'

commode, 'at your ease': for a different meaning, cf. 29 § 5.

4. It is a good thing he is dead, because he was a bad man; but it would have been better, if he had died sooner, before he had lost his sting.

principe, Trajan, who reigned from 98 to 117 A.D.: he punished the *delatores*, whom many of his predecessors had encouraged.

invaluit, 'has grown strong,' in spite of the meaning of *invalidus*.

clepsydras, 'water-clocks.' In Greek and Roman courts time was measured by this contrivance, in which water dripped out of one vessel into another beneath. With us the sand-glass, which used to measure sermons, still survives for the boiling of eggs. There were *clepsydrae* of different sizes: Pliny (*Epist.* ii, 11 § 14) tells

of a speech of his which lasted for nearly five hours or sixteen *clepsydrae* of the largest size. Therefore the normal *clepsydra* may have run for ten or fifteen minutes. Martial (vi, 35) speaks of seven *clepsydrae* as a long speech, and, as the barrister was repeatedly drinking water, he suggests that he should drink from the *clepsydra* and so bring his speech to an end.

5. *egisse*, 'to have spoken': see n. to *acturus* § 2.

qui audiunt, here the *iudices*, not the audience, which is *corona*: see 33 § 3.

studiorum: see n. to § 2.

periculumum, 'trials,' regarded from the point of view of the defendant.

6. *an*, 'what! are we...': common in argumentative language. *comperendinationes*, 'adjournments.'

largiuntur, 'freely grant,' much stronger than *dant* would be.

dicimus refers to the barristers, the next two verbs to the *iudices*.

religiosus refers to the oath taken by the jury: so the Attic orators often remind the jury of the duty of *εὐσεβεια* = *religio* in § 8.

praecipitamus, 'hurry through.'

explicari, 'to drag out.'

7. *obtinebas*, 'used to require' (not 'to get')

fidei...praestant, 'do from a sense of duty,' lit. 'do for honour': this active use of *praestare*, as in *hoc tibi praesto*, occurs constantly in Latin of this period: cf. Mart. v, 52, 1 *quae mihi praestiteris, memini*. Such phrases as *fidei aliquid praestare* are a later development from the personal dative.

equidem, 'for my part,' generally used only with the first person; but it is not, as was once supposed, formed from *ego* and *quidem* but from *e* and *quidem*.

quotiens iudico: for instances, see 11 § 1; 22 § 2; 31 § 1.

aquae = 'time for speaking': *ὥρα* is constantly so used by the Attic orators.

8. *quam spatiosa sit* = *quantum spatii postulatura sit*.

ignores: see n. to *accesseris* 1 § 1.

at, 'you will say that...' puts an imaginary objection: *at enim* is often so used and, in Greek, *ἀλλὰ νῦν Δία*.

etiam, 'yes': the commoner way of expressing this is to repeat the verb, here *dicuntur*.

9. *coram*: supply *loquimur*.

pluribus, 'several' (not 'more'): Cicero would use *compluribus* here.

quoque, i.e. as well as I.

communi omnium is Mommsen's emendation of *communium*, which cannot be right.

emendari (lit. 'to be freed from faults') is much stronger than *corrigere* (lit. 'to straighten'): 'you are wont to desire a radical cure of evils which it has become (iam) difficult to reform at all.'

10. *domos*, 'households,' i.e. private affairs.

nōvi, not *nōvī*.

bona, 'the good points.'

leviora is predicate, not epithet.

LETTER 3.

TO VERUS.

Verus is not elsewhere mentioned. The charge which he had undertaken suggests that he was a *vilicus* or land-steward residing at Comum. The purpose of the letter is to publish Pliny's generosity to his old nurse.

1. *nummum* is the contracted gen. plural, the gen. of price: 'it was worth £1000': 100 *nummi* or sesterces are nearly equal in value to one English pound.

reditu, 'the produce': the word often means 'income,' like *πρὸς οὐδὸς*: so 8 § 5.

pretium is governed by *minuit*.

2. *memineris* is in meaning pres. subj., a tense which is commonly used as an imperative.

haec quoque: supply *commendo*.

LETTER 4.

TO CALPURNIA.

Calpurnia was Pliny's third wife; see Introd. p. xv. She had gone for her health to the Campanian coast while Pliny remained in Rome at his work as Conservator of the Tiber.

1. *occupationibus*, 'busy life.' For his special business at this time, see *Introd.* p. xiii.

valetudinis, 'ill-health.'

e vestigio, κατὰ πόδας, 'close behind.'

2. *cupiebam*, 'I desire': in Roman letters the imperfect is sometimes used where we should use the present, because the writer adopts the point of view of his correspondent.

oculis: dative: 'that my own eyes might convince me of your increasing strength and robustness.'

corpusculum adparare is 'to put on flesh.'

secessus: gen. sing. The word suggests only absence from Rome, not retirement from society: the cities of Campania, such as Baiae, were particularly gay; hence *voluptatis* (acc. plur.).

inoffensa transmitteres, 'you were enduring without injury to your health.' Pliny fears she may have been too gay and also, apparently, that she may have eaten more than was wise.

3. *etiam fortem* = *etiam si fortis esses*.

de eo quem...diligas is more general than *de ea quam diligo* would be: see n. to *accesseris* i § 1.

4. *nunc*, 'as things are,' i.e. when I know that you are not strong. (Do not translate by 'now.')

ratio, 'the thought.'

quaeque natura metuentium est, 'and, with the instinct of fear,' lit. 'that which is the nature of people fearing.'

abominor, 'I pray may not happen': again 22 § 7.

5. *cum legero*, 'when I have done reading them.'

LETTER 5.

TO URSUS.

Three other letters are addressed by Pliny to Cornelius Ursus (iv, 9; v, 20; vi, 13): they all treat of the same subject, accusations brought by the people of Bithynia against their governors Iulius Bassus and Rufus Varenus. The charge was, as usual, of extortion (*repetundae*). Pliny appeared in defence of Varenus and induced the senate to allow witnesses for the defence to be summoned from the province (*evocari*), a practice not recognised by law.

1. *scripseram*, 'I wrote': the reference is to *Epp.* v, 20: for the epistolary tense, see n. to *cupiebam* 4 § 2.

tenuisse, 'had made good his point': a majority (*plures*) of the senate had voted for it.

pertinaciter qualifies *visum*: 'some believed, and persisted in believing, that it was unfair.'

Licinius Nepos was praetor in 105 A.D.: he generally appears in Pliny as a moralist at war with the laxity of his age.

senatu, 'meeting of the senate.'

cum etc., 'though other business was under discussion.'

referretur is impersonal: certain magistrates, especially the consuls, had the right to bring business before the senate (*referre ad senatum*).

2. *sub exemplo*, 'following the precedent.' A man prosecuted for bribery was allowed by law to summon witnesses from abroad for the defence; Nepos proposed that the senate should settle once for all whether the same privilege should be allowed to an official on trial for extortion. The general term for the latter offence is *repetundae*, with which *pecuniae* is understood, lit. 'money that must be claimed back.'

placeret, 'it should be decided': impersonal.

eam legem, i.e. *repetundarum*.

inquirendi, 'of collecting evidence.' The prosecutors had the right to compel the attendance of witnesses (*denuntiare testibus*) to the number of 120: the defence could only employ voluntary evidence.

3. *praepostera*, 'misplaced.' We use 'preposterous' as equivalent to 'absurd'; but the Latin word always suggests that a man has begun a thing at the wrong end, has put the cart before the horse.

quae, 'since it.'

tempore, 'the right time.'

potuisset: the subject is *oratio*; the mood is subj. because this is what was thought and said by the objectors: what they actually said was *potuit occurrere*, and this, as reported by Pliny, becomes *potuisset occ.*

4. Iuventius Celsus, the younger of two famous jurists of this name, was praetor in this year, 106 or 107: he is mentioned first

as one of the conspirators against Domitian in 96, and last as consul for the second time in 129.

multis, 'at length': *verbis* is understood: *paucis* is often used with the same ellipse.

contumeliis is probably dative: cf. ii, 6 § 5 *si gulae temperes*: but the simple abl. is also found after *temperare*: Cicero would write a *contumeliis*.

5. **e numero nostro**, 'of our body,' i.e. senators; or it may mean the consulars of whom Pliny was one.

diceret: the mood expresses repeated action in past time; Cicero would prefer the indicative.

propitium Caesarem etc.. their partisans cried out to the disputants, '*propitius tibi sit Caesar*,' 'may the emperor look with favour on you': cf. Mart. v 63, 5 *faciat tibi sic bene Caesar*: such cries seem to have been commonly addressed to drivers in the circus and gladiators in the amphitheatre; but Pliny objects to them in the senate-house. He mentions another occasion when, in consequence of the misconduct of some senators, the senate *excaudit* (burst into a rage) *magnoque clamore ei qui scripsisset iratum principem est comprecatus* (iv, 25 § 2). Both expressions show that the emperor was regarded as more divine than human.

6. **illud**, 'one thing': 'that' is too bald in English.

alter alteri etc., 'each had information of what the other was intending': *indicare*, 'to inform,' is seldom used in the passive. Both men read their invectives, which made them more displeasing.

7. **loquacitas**: supply *erat*.

id ipsum, i.e. *se iurgaturos esse*.

invicem, 'on both sides,' meant originally 'in turn,' but is used by the imperial writers of reciprocal action where Cicero would write *inter se*: cf. Pliny vii, 20 § 7 *ut invicem ardentius diligamus* (that we may love each other more ardently). For another sense of *in vicem*, cf. 7 § 2, 20 § 4.

convenisset, 'it had been arranged beforehand': *convenit*, 'it is agreed,' is impersonal.

LETTER 6.

TO FUNDANUS.

Gaius Minicius Fundanus was, like Pliny, a senator. He was consul in 108 A.D., and governor of Asia under Hadrian. The other letters addressed to him are i, 9; iv, 15.

1. **sis**=*venias*: it does not appear where Fundanus was.

voti, 'my hopes': the asyndeton, or absence of connecting particles, is normal in Cicero with three nouns; and this construction is common in Pliny.

petit honores, 'is a candidate for office': i.e. wishing to go through the ordinary *cursus honorum* as quaestor, tribune or aedile, praetor, and finally consul, he is now taking the first step in seeking election as quaestor. The law required the quaestor to be at least 25 years old and an interval of at least one year to elapse between any two of these magistracies. Twenty quaestors were elected annually; and each became by his election a member of the senate.

Julius Naso has one letter addressed to him by Pliny (iv, 6). On this occasion he had the support of Tacitus as well (Letter 9).

petit cum multis, 'he has many rivals.'

gloriosum, 'glorious' here: but the word often has a bad sense as in *miles gloriosus* (a braggart soldier).

2. **pendeo** is not to be taken with *spe*: his mind is in suspense, between hope of success and fear of failure.

consularem: Pliny had been consul about six years before; see *Introd.* p. xii.

non sentio, 'I don't realise': in point of fact all such anxieties on his own account were at an end for Pliny.

omnium etc., 'for all the offices which I held, from first to last': *de* gives the sense of completion, as in *decurso aetatis spatio, decurso lumine vitae*.

candidatus: so called because it was necessary while canvassing for votes to wear the white *toga*.

3. **mei**, 'for me': objective genitive.

sane, 'it is true': this is answered by *tamen* below.

potuit is not used impersonally: the subject is *amicitia*.

studiorum, 'eloquence'; **studiosorum**, 'lovers of eloquence': see n. to 2 § 2.

quos...frequentabam, 'whose lectures I was then attending.' Roman education began with literature and ended with rhetoric: see Introd. p. ix. Pliny was a young man completing his education in the usual way; the elder Fundanus was a man of ripe age, who, following a common Roman fashion, was in the habit of dropping in at the rhetorical schools, to hear the famous professors lecture.

Marcus Fabius Quintilianus was born at Calagurris in Spain and was brought to Rome by Galba in 68, where he spoke at the bar and taught rhetoric for twenty years. After his retirement he wrote his famous treatise still extant, 'On the training of an Orator': it was published before 96. Eminent in all that concerns rhetoric, he is no less eminent as a critic of literature.

Nicetes Sacerdos represented the eloquence and culture of the East: he was a native of Smyrna and famous as a teacher at Rome in the time of Domitian. A speaker in the *Dialogue* of Tacitus (c. 15) deplors his inferiority to Aeschines and Demosthenes.

alioqui, 'on other grounds': not merely because of his interest in rhetoric.

qui, 'such that he': hence the subjunctive.

4. **in senatu**: under the republic candidates for office were elected by the people, voting in their centuries or tribes; but under the empire the power of election passed from the people to the senate: cf. Tac. *Ann.* i 15 *tum primum* (i.e. 14 A.D.) *e campo comitia ad patres translata sunt*. After this date all magistrates were nominally elected by the senate, though the emperors contrived to have a considerable finger in the pie.

Hence Fundanus might lose his election, if his father was no longer remembered by the senators.

sed non: 'who' must be inserted in English: the omission is idiomatic in Latin.

Notice the rhetorical turns—the asyndeton after *ornamentum*, and the repeated *ipsi*.

5. **tempus**, 'great occasion,' 'crisis': often used so by Cicero. *certe*, γοῦρ, 'anyhow.'

ut primum etc.: i.e. Fundanus was too diffident of his own judgment to choose friends for himself in his earliest youth; but,

that stage once passed, he chose Pliny. Comp. *Hamlet* III 2, 71

Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice
And could of men distinguish, her election
Hath seal'd thee for herself.

6. **dicenti**, i.e. in the law-courts, where the audience stood: (cf. 33 § 4): at a recitation they sat.

recitanti: Pliny, following a common practice of the time, was in the habit of reading his literary productions, whether in prose or poetry, aloud to an audience of his friends before publication. He was told by some candid friend that he read poetry badly; so he devised a plan by which his freedman should do the reading while the author accompanied the reader in dumb show (*Epp.* ix 34). Juvenal (3, 9) describes such recitations as one of the most intolerable nuisances of Roman life.

primis etc., 'he is present at the very beginning and actual moment of birth of my trifling works': cf. Mart. v 5, 3 (to the literary secretary of Domitian) *tibi nascentes domini cognoscere curas* (works)...*licet*.

cum maxime, 'at that moment,' is an adverb of time: cf. 31 § 15: it is probably a shortened form of *tunc cum maxime*.

interest: this must not be confused with the impersonal use which occurs § 8.

7. **amicis**: dative.

8. **exigo**, 'I demand,' stronger than *oro*, *rogo*, or *postulo*.

mea.

etiam goes with *meos*.

9. **tempus**, 'emergency': with both *fides* and *dignitas* (credit) *mea* must be supplied from *meum*.

ego, 'it is I who...': emphatic.

in summa, 'in a word': a favourite phrase with Pliny, occurring at least 15 times in his letters.

LETTER 7.

TO CALPURNIA.

This letter, like the fourth, is addressed to his wife, Calpurnia. They were apart at the time; but whether she was still in Campania is not clear.

1. *libellos meos*, 'writings of mine.'

teneas, 'hold in your hand': the subjunctive of reported speech: Calpurnia wrote *teneo*.

in vestigio meo, lit. 'in the imprint left by me,' i.e. in that part of their marriage-bed which was generally occupied by her husband: cf. Ovid *Her.* 10, 53 (the deserted Ariadne to Theseus) *et tua, quae possum, pro te vestigia tango | strataque quae membris intepuere tuis*.

2. *nos requiris*, 'you miss me.'

fomentis, 'palliatives': *fomentum* is properly applied to a *vulnus*: cf. *Epp.* ii 7, 3 *cuius gravissimo vulnere magno aliquo fomento medendum fuit*.

invicem, 'like you': see n. to 5 § 7.

3. *cuius...huius*: in English the relative clause generally comes second, but in Latin as in Greek it is very common to put it first, in which case the first word of the principal clause must be the demonstrative pronoun.

licet etc., 'although this is a painful pleasure to me,' lit. 'pleases me in such a way as to torment me.'

LETTER 8.

TO PRISCUS.

The Priscus, to whom this letter is addressed, is perhaps Lucius Neratius Priscus, a man of high position and distinction. He was consul in 83 A.D. and later governor of Pannonia. He was a valued councillor of Trajan and Hadrian, and also wrote on law. The other letters addressed to Priscus are ii, 13; vii, 8 and 19.

1. Atilius Crescens is often mentioned in Pliny's Letters, as a learned man; and sayings of his are quoted.

spectatior paulo, 'that is a little out of the common': *spectatus* generally means 'tested.'

2. Pliny's *oppidum* was Comum; Crescens may have been a native of Mediolanum (Milan), which is about 30 miles distant.

invicem: Cicero would write *inter nos*: see n. to 5 § 7.

qui etc.: the Latin order is idiomatic; in English the relative clause must come after the principal clause: it is the affection between young men that is so ardent.

iudicio, 'by discretion': the attainment of years of discretion did not cool this affection but increased it.

latissima suggests the wide circle in which he publishes Pliny's friendship.

prae me fero, 'openly profess.'

curae, predicative dative: *hoc mihi curae est*, lit. 'this is for a care to me.'

modestia etc.: for the three-membered asyndeton, see n. to 6 § 1.

3. A quotation from Homer *Il.* i 88 (Achilles speaking to the priest Calchas) *οὔρις, ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο, | σοὶ κολῆς παρὰ νηυσὶ βαπέλας χεῖρας ἐπολσαι*.

haec: supply *tendunt*: 'what's the drift of this?'

5. *pro iure amicitiae*, 'as our friendship entitles me,' i.e. the friendship between Pliny and Priscus.

plurium, 'several,' not 'more': see n. to 2 § 9.

The description is a variation of Sallust's account of Catiline, *sui profusus, alieni appetens*.

ex frugalitate reditus: again an adaptation of the old Roman saying, *magnum vectigal parsimonia*. For *reditus*, 'income,' see n. to 3 § 1.

6. *quibus plurimum praestat*, 'in which he is most eminent,' lit. 'he does very much': for this sense of *praestare*, see n. to 2 § 7; but *quibus* is abl., not dative.

7. *vel minima*: see n. to 1 § 2.

amiseris, 'one has lost': see n. to *accesseris* 1 § 1.

(There appears to be some corruption, or the loss of some words, in the clause *quia reparare—gravius est*. The text as it stands does not give a satisfactory sense. 'What one expects is something like *quid autem, quam reparare non posse quod amiseris, gravius est?*' A. E. Housman.)

scrupulum, 'sore point.' Note the repetition first of *exime* and then of *sine*.

neque enim possum, 'for I cannot bear': before *enim*, *neque* is regularly used in the sense of *non*.

8. *in summa*: see n. to 6 § 9.

bilem, 'gall.'

quam vim etc., 'the vigour he shows in affection will convince you what vigour he will show when offended'; i.e. as he is no half-hearted friend, he will also be no half-hearted enemy.

offensus = *si offensus fuerit*.

crede, lit. 'take the word of.'

magnum...ingentum, 'his high spirit.'

9. *ut*, 'even though.'

pro, 'in proportion to.'

quamquam, *κατοι*, 'and yet': often so used in principal clauses: a corrective particle.

rogo is less strong than *oro*: 'I beg and entreat.'

dabis: supply *operam*.

hoc, 'the latter,' *illud*, 'the former.'

curae: for the dat., see n. to § 2.

quam: Cicero uses *ac* or *quasi* after *perinde*.

LETTER 9.

TO TACITUS.

This letter, like two others in this book, is addressed to Publius Cornelius Tacitus, the historian. Tacitus was born about 55 A.D. and consequently was rather older than Pliny. He first came into notice for his oratory (see Pliny *Epp.* ii, 1 § 6; ii, 11; iv, 13). The 'Histories' were completed and published between 98 and 115: probably the books were issued separately. The narrative began from the death of Nero: when it reached the reign of Titus, the historian applied to Pliny for information on a special point and received in reply Letters 16 and 20 of this book. For further references to the 'Histories,' see vii, 20 and 33; viii, 7. Pliny expresses enthusiastic admiration for his friend's writings which were submitted to him for correction.

1. For Julius Naso's candidature, see Letter 6.

me ipsum: supply *mihi commendares*.

eundem should be translated, 'I also would have...him.'

The sentence shows that Tacitus was absent from Rome.

habet hoc etc., 'it is characteristic of anxiety': this idiomatic phrase generally begins a sentence: cf. Pliny *Paneg.* 83 *habet hoc magna fortuna quod nihil tectum, nihil occultum esse patitur* (it is characteristic of great place, that it makes concealment impossible).

omnia necessaria, 'nothing superfluous.'

2. *alios*, i.e. not me.

ego, 'for I...': the particle is required in English.

minister etc.: for the asyndeton, see n. to 6 § 1.

LETTER 10.

TO ALBINUS.

Internal evidence shows the date of this letter to be 106. The correspondent to whom it is addressed, Luceius Albinus, is mentioned elsewhere by Pliny as speaking with distinction in trials before the senate.

1. *socrus*: this was Pompeia Celerina, mother of Pliny's second wife whom he lost in 97 A.D. The parents of Calpurnia, his third wife, were both dead at this time. Pompeia was very rich and let Pliny have money when he wanted it.

Alsiensem, at Alsium, in Etruria.

Verginius Rufus was one of the most distinguished men of his time. Born at Comum (Pliny's birthplace) in the year 15, he was consul in 63 and again in 69. In the latter year, as governor of Upper Germany, he defeated Vindex, who had rebelled against Nero, and then refused to take the throne which was offered to him. He was elected to a third consulship for the year 97; but on the first of January he fell in the senate-house and broke his thigh. This accident led to his death in the same year, when he was 83. He was honoured with a public funeral, at which Tacitus, then consul, delivered a panegyric over his body. He acted as guardian to Pliny.

optimi...viri, 'of that great and good man': the superlative is more at home in Latin than in English.

nidulum, 'cosy corner.'

2. *contulisse*: Cicero would prefer *contuleram*; but all Latin writers in sentences of this kind use a pluperfect, where English avoids it: we say 'wherever I turned my steps.'

libuit, 'I had a fancy.'

3. *in causa*, 'account for it': cf. I § 2.

ac potius: Cicero regularly uses *atque adeo* in this sense: e.g. in *Verr.* II 3, 142 *nova lege atque adeo nulla lege*.

subit, 'comes over me.'

post decimum mortis annum, 'in the tenth year after his death': as Rufus died in 97, this letter was written in 106.

nomine, titulo: monuments or statues of men of rank generally bore long inscriptions: first came the *praenomen*, *nomen*, *praenomen* of father and perhaps grandfather, tribe, and *cognomen*, e.g. *M. Tullius M. f. M. n. Cornelia tribu* Cicero. Then came the *titulus*, comprising all the offices which had been filled by the person in question: the list sometimes (as in Pliny's own case: see *Introd.* p. xvi) runs from highest to lowest, sometimes in the reverse order. Such a list, in the case of Rufus, would have been very long.

culus: *eius* must be supplied as antecedent.

gloria must mean 'with glory': but Cicero would have written *cum gloria*. Pliny is perhaps thinking of the words of Pericles, ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος (*Thuc.* II 43).

4. *caverat*, 'he had provided,' implies that he had taken legal precautions, in his will or otherwise.

adseruit, 'set free,' i.e. from the tyranny of Nero.

sibi, 'for his own advantage.' When his soldiers offered him the supreme power, he refused it, leaving the choice of Nero's successor to the senate.

5. *praesumere*, 'to perform in advance,' i.e. in our own lifetime.

LETTER II.

TO MAXIMUS.

A number of the Letters, nine in all, are addressed to Maximus; but whether Pliny had more than one friend of the name, is not clear.

1. *o diem laetum!*: in exclamations the acc. is regularly used after *o* and *en*: Plautus uses it also after *em* and *ecce*, as in *ecce me* (behold, your humble servant!).

adhibitus in consilium, 'having been summoned as assessor': various magistrates—praefects, praetors, and aediles—asked friends to sit with them on the bench and assist their deliberations.

praefecto urbis: most of the *praefecturae* at Rome were held by men of equestrian rank; but the *praefectus urbi* was a senator and generally a consular. All the city police were under his orders, and he had a large criminal jurisdiction in Rome and Italy.

ex diverso agentes, 'speaking on opposite sides': see n. to *acturus* 2 § 2.

indolis, 'ability': but the word is properly used of young men only, and suggests growth and development, not maturity.

Gnaeus Pedanius Fuscus Salinator had a distinguished career and was consul in 118. Letter 26 deals with his betrothal. Gaius Ummidius Quadratus also rose to the consulship in 118. He married a sister of the emperor Marcus Antoninus. Both these men are among the correspondents of Pliny; but they make no figure otherwise in Latin literature, as Pliny hopes they will do.

ornamento: predicative dat.: see n. to *curae* 8 § 2.

futurum, 'likely to prove.'

2. *mira* etc., 'both have remarkable modesty with no lack of firmness': i.e. excessive *probitas* might show weakness, but this is not so. *constantia salva* is abl. absol., lit. 'their firmness being unimpaired.'

decorus habitus, 'they are pleasant to look at.'

os Latinum, 'their accent is good.' Quintilian objects to the custom by which Roman children of rank were taught Greek exclusively in infancy: it leads, he says, to persistent faults of accent (*oris*) and of idiom (*sermonis*), when the children come to Latin.

iudicium aequale, 'judgment not inferior to their ability': unlike most young men, they can criticise themselves and their oratory. (*aequalis* is rare with this meaning: *iudicii tantundem* is what one would expect.)

inter haec illud, 'especially the fact': the demonstrative pronouns, so useful and important in Latin, often will not bear literal translation into English: cf. *illud in his rebus* so common in Lucretius.

3. *notandum* etc.: the elder Pliny traces the phrase, used here by his nephew and often by others, to a custom of a Thracian people: our phrase of 'a red-letter day' offers some analogy.

publice = 'for our country.'

studiis, 'eloquence': see n. to 2 § 2.

4. *tanti*, 'worth while': gen. of price.

quam me, 'than I am.' This accusative is normal in Latin, when the other member of the comparison is, like *omnis* here, in the accusative. 'I never saw a more worthless man than he' is, in Latin, *hominem nequiores quam hunc nunquam vidi*: the second noun takes, by attraction, the case of the first.

velint: supply *dei* as subject.

LETTER 12.

TO FABATUS.

Calpurnius Fabatus was the grandfather of Pliny's wife, Calpurnia. Like Pliny he was a native of Comum and a benefactor to the town. Belonging to the second order of Roman aristocracy, the *equites*, he served in the army, and then filled various civil posts. He died in 112. The other letters addressed to him are iv, 1; v, 11; vi, 30; vii, 11, 16, 23, 32; viii, 10.

1. *tu* is emphatic: 'you are the last man who ought to....'

suspensa manu, 'in gingerly fashion,' lit. 'with hand poised,' so that it may touch gently: so *suspensio gradu*, 'on tip-toe.'

2. Vettius Priscus is not mentioned elsewhere.

praestabo, 'I will do': see n. to 2 § 7.

harena = 'sphere of action.' The court of the *centumviri* (see n. to 33 § 2) was the place where Pliny was best known and had most influence.

3. *aperto pectore*, 'in the fullness of your heart.'

libentius: *libenter facio*, 'I like to do it'; *invitus facio*, 'I dislike to do it.'

exegeris mecum: apparently a mixture of two constructions, *exegeris a me* and *egeris mecum*.

solebas: the tense shows that the son, Pliny's father-in-law, was dead: cf. 30 § 5.

4. *dissimulo*, 'do I conceal': to be distinguished from *simulo*, 'I pretend.'

hoc is abl. of the amount of difference, 'by this': cf. 1 § 1.

habebam bonam causam, 'I had a good defence,' a technical phrase of the law-courts.

5. *etiam atque etiam* = 'earnestly.'

simplicitate, 'directness.'

cessabo, 'shall do so really': this is better English than to repeat the verb.

quod is subject to *proficisci* and object of *meruisse*: it takes the subjunctive because it = *ut id*.

LETTER 13.

TO URSUS.

For the subject of this letter, and the correspondent to whom it is written, see n. to Letter 5.

1. *laboriosum* etc., 'worried and harassed.'

contentione, 'exertions.'

quod impetraverat, 'the concession he had gained,' i.e. the power to summon witnesses in his defence from Bithynia, the province which was prosecuting him for misgovernment. He had got this from the senate; and his prosecutors are trying to upset the decision.

2. *carpere*, 'to attack': the word generally suggests gradual action, a little at a time.

absenti principi: Trajan was absent from Rome on his second Dacian campaign: later letters in this book allude to his return which took place in 106 or 107 A.D.

egit, 'spoke': see n. to *acturus* 2 § 2.

3. *mirificus*, sc. *erat*, 'behaved splendidly.'
quoque, 'even,' would be *etiam* in Cicero.
4. The oratio obliqua reports what the senators said.
singulos, 'individual senators.'
integra re, 'while the matter was undecided': a common sense of *integer*, e.g. *omnia mihi integra sunt*, 'I am entirely unpledged.'
peractā, sc. *re*. In English 'but' is required at the beginning of this clause; Latin prefers asyndeton of contrasted clauses.
cunctis, 'by the body as a whole': slightly different from *omnibus* = 'all the members.'
5. *an*, 'or possibly': the word is properly interrogative but comes to be used as a mere disjunctive conjunction such as *sive*.
septem immo, 'no, seven' is the English order.
in priore sententia: cf. *Epp.* v, 20 § 6 *censuit Acilius Rufus, consul designatus, inquisitionem* (power to collect evidence) *Bithynis dandam: postulationem Varenii silentio praeteriit. haec forma negandi fuit.*
paucitate, 'small minority.'
gravitas, 'high principle,' shown by denying the request of the defendant.
6. *certaminis* is governed by *quantum*.
culis is fem., *pugna* being the antecedent. By *pugna* is meant the actual trial of Varenus, which will take place after these preliminary wrangles over the conditions.

LETTER 14.

TO MAURICUS.

Junius Mauricus, the recipient of this and other letters from Pliny (i, 14; ii, 18), played a less distinguished part than his brother, the Stoic philosopher and writer, Arulenus Rusticus. Still his prominence in opposition led to his banishment in 93 A.D. He returned in 96. He was a personal friend of both Nerva and Trajan.

1. *Formianum*, 'your villa at Formiae.' Formiae, a town on the coast of Latium, about 80 miles from Rome on the Appian way, had long been a favourite spot for the villas of rich Romans. Cicero had a villa there and was killed near it by Antony's assassins.

invicem, 'on my side': see n. to § 7. The meaning is: 'you are not to put yourself out on my account, and I stipulate that I also shall not put myself out for you.'

sequor, transl. 'are my attractions'; and make all the accusatives the subject in English.

2. In Rome Pliny considers that he has no freedom; on a holiday he wants entire freedom.

certe, 'at least,' goes with *mei*.

stomachi natura, 'peculiarity of taste.'

nihil nisi totum et merum, 'no half-measures.'

LETTER 15.

TO ROMANUS.

This Romanus is probably the same person as Voconius Romanus, whom Pliny often writes to (i, 5; ii, 1; iii, 13; vi, 33; viii, 8; ix, 7 and 28) and mentions in letters to others. They had been school-fellows and remained friends through life. Pliny obtained from Trajan a nomination to the senate for his friend.

1. 'You have missed a rare scene. So did I, but...'

ne ego quidem, lit. 'nor was I (present) either': this use of *ne... quidem*, where there is no gradation between the things negated, must be distinguished from the commoner use, in which it means 'not even.' If Pliny meant to say, 'not even I was present,' this would imply that his presence was more likely: but it was neither more nor less likely.

recens is predicate. *excepit*, 'came to me.'

splendidus eques: Gaius Passennus Paullus Propertius Blaesus (such is his full name preserved in an inscription at Assisi), though not a senator, belonged to the class of *equites* called *splendidi* or *illustres*, i.e. those selected by the emperor for a civil service career.

gentilicium hoc illi, 'it runs in his family.'

municeps Properti: i.e. Paullus, like the elegiac poet Propertius, was a native of Asisium (now Assisi) in Umbria.

2. *recitaret*, 'was giving a recitation': see n. to § 6.

Prisce, iubes, 'O Priscus, thou dost bid me': the translation

must show that this is not prose but the first words of Paullus' first couplet.

Iavolenus Priscus was eminent as a writer on law, and held office as a magistrate in Africa and in Syria. He may have been eccentric; or he may have realised and resented the intolerable nuisance of these recitations.

ego vero non iubeo, 'indeed, I do not': some verb of speaking must be prefixed.

hominum, 'of the audience.'

3. omnino, 'it is true': this *omnino* is much like *quidem* and is followed by a *sed* or *tamen*.

officiis, 'social events': a recitation, a wedding, a birthday-party, are all *officia* in the language of the empire.

consiliis: see n. to 11 § 1.

ius civile publice respondet, 'he expounds the law officially,' i.e. he is a jurist, whom people consult on points of law. *ius civile* is the Roman law as distinguished from *ius gentium*, international law. The jurist was said *ius* (or *de iure*) *respondere*; and such *responsa* did a good deal towards building up that fabric of law which is the imperishable monument of the Roman genius.

publice means that Iavolenus is not a private adventurer but is recognised by the state. For *respondere*, 'to put forward in reply,' cf. Hor. *Epp.* i 3, 23 *seu civica iura | respondere paras*.

4. aliquantum etc. 'has cast somewhat of a damper upon....'

tam sollicite goes with *providendum*.

sani, 'sound in health': they must not have colds or their voices will suffer.

sanos, 'sound in mind.'

adhibeant, 'invite.'

LETTER 16.

TO TACITUS.

This letter and the twentieth, on the same subject, are, with the exception of the letter to Trajan about the Christians in Bithynia, the most famous of all Pliny's letters. They describe an event of great importance in the world's history, the eruption of Vesuvius on August 24th 79 A.D.; and they describe it for the use of the great

historian Tacitus, who was now preparing to narrate the reign of Titus in his *Histories*. For the relations of Pliny and Tacitus, see n. to Letter 9.

1. avunculi: Gaius Plinius Secundus was the uncle and, by adoption, the father of the writer. He was born at Comum in 23 A.D. and passed an active life in the career of an *eques*, partly in civil, partly in military, duties. He was an intimate friend of the emperor Vespasian, and dedicated his *Natural History*, the only extant production of his great literary activity, to Titus, Vespasian's elder son and successor. He died as here described in his 56th year.

verius, 'more exactly.'

video = 'I know.'

morti...inmortalem: the play on words is of course intentional: so **victurus occiderit** below.

2. clade, 'in the ruin.'

The district round Vesuvius was renowned for its beauty before the eruption.

ut populi, ut urbes: supply *occiderunt*: 'just as whole peoples and cities perished': the cities are Herculaneum and Pompeii, the *populi* their inhabitants.

opera: Pliny gives elsewhere (iii, 5) a list of his uncle's works: he wrote history, biography, treatises on grammar and oratory, and a work 'On the use of the javelin by cavalry,' in addition to his *Natural History*, which was his last work and his only *opus mansurum*.

3. equidem, 'for my part': see n. to 2 § 7.

Which is better, *facere scribenda* or *scribere legenda*? Which is greater, the hero or the poet? Here are two different answers to the question.

(1) "On the memorable night which preceded the falling of Quebec, when the troops were drifting in silence and darkness down the river, to make the perilous attempt to scale the heights of Abraham, Wolfe murmured, as he lay at the bottom of his boat, the 'Elegy written in a Country Churchyard.' Upon concluding the recitation, he said to his companions in arms, 'Now, gentlemen, I would prefer being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow.'" (Elwin's *Essays*, II p. 494.)

(2) "Scott never considered any amount of literary distinction

as entitled to be spoken of in the same breath with mastery in the higher departments of practical life—least of all, with the glory of a first-rate captain. To have done things worthy to be written, was in his eyes a dignity to which no man made any approach who had only written things worthy to be read.” (Lockhart’s *Life of Scott*, III p. 376.) Lockhart refers to Scott’s opinion of himself as compared with the Duke of Wellington.

utrumque: supply *datum est*.

horum, ‘the latter.’

libris: ablative. He himself wrote things worthy to be read, and he did things worthy to be described by Tacitus.

deposco etc., ‘I solicit also the task you lay upon me.’

4. **Miseni**: Italy was defended by two fleets, of which one was stationed at Misenum, on the Bay of Naples, and the other at Ravenna. The admiral (*praefectus*) was an *eques*, not a senator; and neither sailors nor marines were Roman citizens. The status of this service generally was inferior to that of the army.

praesens, ‘in person.’

nonum is acc., because the full phrase is *ante diem nonum Kalendas Septembres*, which means, nine days before September 1st, i.e. August 24th.

hora fere septima, ‘about one in the afternoon’: the hours of the day were reckoned from 6 a.m.: the period of time from 6–7 and the actual hour of 7 were both called *prima hora*.

mater: Pliny’s mother was the admiral’s sister.

inducat ei apparere, ‘called his attention to.’

5. **usus...sole**: it was a Roman custom to take an air-bath by sitting or walking naked in the sun: Pliny took a cold bath after this.

mox, ‘afterwards.’

frigidā: supply *aquā*.

gustaverat, ‘he had lunched’: this meal was called *prandium*.

The general account which Pliny gives of his uncle’s habits (*Epp.* iii, 5) should be compared.

studebat, ‘was over his books’: i.e. he was reading and, according to his invariable practice, taking notes.

soleas, ‘sandals’: his feet were bare, as he had taken his meal, and was now reading, in a reclining position (*in lectulo*).

maxime, ‘best.’

nubes etc.: expressed fully this sentence would run: *nubes ex monte oriebatur: procul intuentibus incertum erat ex quo monte oreretur: Vesuvium* etc.

procul intuentibus, ‘seen from a distance’: lit. ‘to those looking on from far.’

expresserit, ‘can represent’: the subjunctive is potential and may be compared with the aorist optative with *ἔν* in Greek.

6. **velut** apologises for the application of the word *trunco* to a cloud: ‘rising...with what I may call a...stem.’

diffundebatur, ‘it split off into.’

recenti spiritu evecta, ‘driven upwards by the first blast’ of the volcano. The ancients attributed both earthquakes and eruptions to air (*spiritus*) confined within the earth.

senescente eo, ‘as the blast grew feeble.’

victa, ‘borne down.’

in latitudinem vanescebat, ‘it grew broader and less substantial.’

candida: supply *erat*. The whiteness would be due to the momentary absence of both soil and ashes.

7. **magnum**, ‘important.’ His interest in natural phenomena of all kinds would induce him to make a closer inspection.

visum: supply *est ei*.

Liburnicam, ‘a galley,’ with two banks of oars: the larger ships of the fleet had three, four, or five banks.

vellem, subjunctive of reported speech: he said *si vis*.

copiam, ‘leave’: *veniendi* is understood.

8. **egrediebatur**: note the change of tense from the narrative present used so far: ‘just as he was leaving the house...’

Rectinae Tascl, ‘from Rectina, wife of Tascus.’ (Neither name occurs elsewhere, and the text is not certain.)

subiacebat: supply *monti Vesuvio*.

navibus, ‘by sea’: and therefore she applied to the admiral.

fuga: supply *erat*.

9. **quod** etc., ‘the plan which he had conceived from scientific curiosity, he carried out with heroism’: he now realised that there was real danger to himself and others; so he became a man of action instead of an observer of nature.

frequens, 'dotted with dwellings.'

amoenitas orae, 'that charming coast.'

10. *periculum*, 'the place of danger,' i.e. Vesuvius.

malli, 'portent,' genitive of *malum*.

figuras, 'phases.'

dictaret: from his place on deck he watched the development of the cloud and other phenomena and reported them to an attendant who took down exactly what was said. Pliny had a passion for taking notes; and this was certainly an instance of 'the ruling passion strong in death.'

11. *accederent*: Cicero would write *accesserant*.

pumices, 'bits of pumice-stone': supply *incidebant*.

iam etc., 'suddenly they were in shallow water, and access to the shore was blocked by the *d'bris* from the mountain': *erant* must be supplied, *vadum* and *litora* being both subjects. The lava discharged by Vesuvius, or, more probably, the earthquake, had altered the depth of the water.

an, 'whether': as there is no alternative, Cicero would use *num* or *-ne*: cf. 1 § 2.

retro, i.e. to Misenum and safety.

fortes etc.: a common proverb: cf. Virg. *Aen.* x 284 *audentis fortuna iuvat*.

Pomponianus is the name of a friend, who was living at Stabiae, a town four miles south of Pompeii on the same bay. It also was buried under the *d'bris*.

The admiral's object must have been to rescue Pomponianus and his household. Why he failed to do so, is not clear. His great ships, with their four banks of oars, could surely have gone against the wind. If he had been an English naval officer, and had escaped with his life, a court-martial would have asked him some awkward questions.

12. *sinu medio*, 'by the breadth of the bay.'

sensim etc., 'the shore sweeps round in a gentle curve and forms a basin for the sea.'

quamquam is always used by Cicero with a verb in the indicative, never, as here, with a participle.

sarcinas, 'baggage,' 'belongings': *colligere sarcinulas*, 'to pack up,' is used elsewhere by Pliny.

certus fugae, 'resolved to fly': the gen. in this sense after *certus* is a poetical construction: Virgil has *certus eundi*.

secundissimo, 'full in his favour': it was therefore a North wind.

deferri: *se* must be supplied; the ellipse of this pronoun is rare.

lotus, 'after his bath.'

accubat: the Romans generally took their meals lying down: but to do so on this occasion was a sign of composure.

magnum, 'admirable.'

13. *pluribus locis*, 'at several points': see n. to 2 § 9.

latissimae flammae, 'sheets of flame.'

He attributed the glare partly to rubbish-heaps, which labourers in their fear had left burning, and partly to the blazing of deserted houses.

per solitudinem, 'in the forsaken district.'

verissimo, 'perfectly genuine.'

quidem is answered by *sed* in the next sentence but one.

nam meatus etc.: Pliny is trying to convey in phrases consistent with the dignity of history that his uncle was a stout man and snored.

amplitudinem, 'full habit.'

14. *area*: transl. 'the level of the court.'

ex qua diaeta adibatur, 'which gave access to his room': the Romans applied the Greek word *διαίτα* to a room used for any purpose, in this case, to a bedroom.

mora: supply *esset*.

negaretur: the imperf. subj. in the apódosis of a conditional sentence remains unchanged after *ut*: any other tense of the subj. is changed and expressed by the future participle and the subj. of *esse*.

pervigilaverant, 'had sat up all night': so Martial says, *vigilare leve est, pervigilare grave est*.

15. *in commune*, simply 'together': in Cicero this would mean 'for the common good.'

vagentur, 'take their chance': it was too dark to see.

vastis tremoribus, 'with violent shocks.'

abire and *referri* describe the two movements of the buildings, as they seem first to leave their foundations and then to return to them.

16. *rursus*, 'on the other hand': now comes the reason for staying indoors.

quamquam qualifies the adjectives only: Cicero would use *quamvis*: see n. to § 12.

quod, 'the latter course,' that of sallying forth.

collatio can hardly be kept as the subject in English: 'after comparing the risks they chose....'

ratio rationem...vicit, 'one reason proved stronger than another': i.e. he weighed both courses and chose the wiser.

cervicallia: the classical word is *pulvini*.

17. *iam*, 'by this time.'

dies: supply *erat*.

omnibus noctibus, 'than any night.'

solabantur is a poetical equivalent for *inlustrabant*.

ex proximo, 'at close quarters.'

ecquid admitteret, 'offered any possibilities': the wind might have shifted.

quod, 'but it.'

adhuc, 'still': Cicero would write *etiam tum*, using *adhuc* only in the sense of 'till now.'

vastum, 'wild.'

18. *lintheum* is a linen cloth of any kind, here probably 'a sail': it is obviously larger than the *linthea* in § 16.

19. *servolis*: the diminutive is commonly used of all slaves and does not imply that they were short or feeble.

concidit, 'he fell dead.' He must have had some sort of fit: it is not credible that the darkness, however thick, would obstruct his wind-pipe (*stomachus*).

20. He had seen daylight on the 24th; during the whole of the 25th the darkness continued; on the 26th his body was found.

habitus, 'appearance.'

quiescenti: 'sleep' will give the meaning best.

21. After *mater* Pliny breaks off his narrative, remembering that he has told all he was asked. Notice how the style, which so far has been historical, not epistolary, changes at once.

ad historiam: supply *hoc pertinet*.

22. *unum*, 'only one thing.'

cum maxime, 'when especially': quite different from the same words in 6 § 6. The first account of the slaves would be the truest; later they would begin to imagine additional detail.

LETTER 17.

TO RESTITUTUS.

Of Restitutus no other mention is preserved: like so many of Pliny's friends, he seems to have been interested in literature, either as a critic or an author.

1. *indignatiunculam*, 'a bit of a grievance'; Pliny coins this word, on the analogy of *contiuncula* from *contio*.

mihi: the dat. of the pronoun is sometimes inserted, sometimes omitted, in this construction.

coram: supply *effundere*.

2. *absolutissimus*, 'really perfect.'

diserti, 'accomplished': unless the work recited was a speech, the commoner meaning 'eloquent' is inappropriate.

non labra diduxerunt etc.: polite people, including Pliny, cheered the reader's heart by cries of *σοφῶς! εὐγε! βεατε!* (Mart. ii 27) and other equivalents for our Bravo! and Hear, Hear! Still greater enthusiasm was evinced by kissing your hands to the reader or rising for a moment to your feet: cf. Mart. x 10, 9 *sacpius assurgam recitanti carmina? tu stas* (never sit down) | *et pariter geminas tendis in ora manus*.

saltem, 'if only.'

3. *sinisteritas*, 'want of tact.'

ac potius: see n. to 10 § 3.

hoc (acc.) is defined by the *ut* clauses.

totum diem: cf. Mart. x 70, 10 *auditur toto saepe poeta die*; Juv. i, 4 *impune diem consumpserit ingens* | *Telephus* (a tragedy of that name)? The reciters of those days seem to have had no mercy.

4. *qui invidet* etc., 'jealousy is natural to inferiority.'

plus praestas, 'your own performance is superior': but note that *praestare* does not here mean, 'to be superior': see n. to 8 § 6.

lauda, 'applaud.'

videri: supply *cum*.

5. *studiis*, 'literature,' in a more general sense than in 2 § 2.

In the next sentence literature is personified, as a mistress 'coy, inaccessible, hard to please.'

contemnat: subjunctive, because *quae* = *talis ut*.

nisi forte, 'but perhaps.'

quamquam: see n. to 8 § 9.

operis, 'art.'

6. *potissimum*, 'by preference,' goes with *tibi*.

LETTER 18.

TO SABINUS.

There is one other letter addressed to Sabinus (ix, 2), from which it appears that he was at that time a soldier upon active service. This letter tells us that he was a native of Firmum, a town in Picenum.

1. *ut agam* etc., 'to appear for the town of Firmum,' no doubt in some civil action in the court of the *centumviri*.

quamquam: see n. to 16 § 12.

cupio, 'I am anxious,' is much stronger than *volo*.

coloniam: Roman *coloniae* were not colonies, in our sense of the word, but towns. Firmum was founded in 264 B.C.: it was then a *colonia Latina*, with fewer privileges than the *coloniae Romanae*.

advocationis officio, 'by my services as a pleader.'

2. *patria*, 'native town': a regular meaning of the word.

petenti: supply *tibi*.

honestius: 'more creditable.'

piis, 'of affection': the feeling which Sabinus has for his native place is *pietas*.

amantis is governed by *precibus*, and refers to the affection of Sabinus for Pliny.

3. *ac potius*: see n. to 10 § 3.

pollicetur, 'warrants.' ('That they are worthy..., is warranted both by...' will be a better order in English.)

morëris, 'continue to live': *commorari* is commoner in this sense.

LETTER 19.

TO NEPOS.

Publius Metilius Nepos was a senator, and one of the *Fratres Arvales*, a religious corporation believed to be more ancient than Rome itself. Other letters addressed to him are: ii, 3; iii, 16; iv, 26.

1. *accessisse*, 'has risen,' lit. 'has been added to.'

comitiis, 'elections' of curule magistrates by the senate: see n. to 6 § 4.

honestissimas etc., 'gave utterance to a very proper opinion.'

deponant: the ordinary method of bribery was to deposit money in the hands of an agent called *sequester*: in case the candidate was elected, the voters then received their pay from other agents called *divisores*.

2. *ex quibus*, 'of these practices.'

occultaretur: in Latin of this time the indicative is hardly ever used after *quamquam*: Cicero, on the other hand, never uses the subjunctive.

3. Titius Homullus is elsewhere mentioned as defending governors of provinces when prosecuted before the senate.

vigilanter usus, 'quick to take advantage of...'

sententiae loco, 'when it was his turn to speak': a senator, when called upon by the consul or other presiding magistrate to state his opinion (*sententiam dicere*), was not bound to stick to the business under discussion but might call attention to any matter of public importance. The technical phrase for this is *egredi relationem*. This is what Homullus did.

desiderium, 'desire': in earlier Latin the word always means desire for some thing (or person) which has been enjoyed but is now lost; but in imperial writers it is merely a synonym of *postulatum*.

principi: Trajan was still absent in Dacia: see n. to 13 § 2.

After *peterent* there is an ellipse of *ut*.

4. *occurrit*: 'he did so' is more natural in English than to repeat the verb: cf. 12 § 5.

ambitus, 'against bribery': it is significant that the same Latin word means 'canvassing' and 'bribery.' Apparently Trajan added a new law to the multitude of previous enactments.

conferre, 'to invest.'

in ea...continuerentur, lit. 'in the things comprised in the soil,' the cumbersome legal phrase for 'real property,' i.e. land, as opposed to *res mobiles*, 'personal property.' The simpler phrase is *in solo collocare pecuniam*. Trajan wished the senators to have what used to be called 'a stake in the country.' The context shows that they were required to buy land in Italy.

deforme, 'unseemly.'

honorem petitueros: see n. to 6 § 1: those who sought the office of quaestor had to buy the land.

urbem, 'Rome': there were *coloniae*, *municipia*, *oppida* and so on in any number, but only one *urbs* for a Roman.

stabulo, 'an inn': the word is contemptuous: compare our use of 'carpet-bagger' for a parliamentary candidate who has had no previous relations to his constituency.

5. *quōque* etc., 'and so bring more estates into the market': *quo* is used, and not *ut*, because a comparative follows.

6. *proinde*, 'accordingly.' Pliny often sums up a letter with this word: cf. 12 § 5, 18 § 3.

paenitet te, 'you're not content with.'

In the language of the Stock Exchange, there was a 'boom' for land in Italy, a 'slump' in the provinces.

hercule (or *me hercule*), 'by Hercules': 'by Jove' may serve in English.

comparandi=emendi: that the former was the word in colloquial use is shown by its survival in Italian.

dum, 'because': a very common meaning of the word.

LETTER 20.

TO TACITUS.

This is a continuation of the sixteenth Letter. Pliny showed literary tact when, in publishing his book, he arranged that this letter should not immediately succeed the other on the same subject. In both he is dealing with events that took place nearly thirty years back.

1. *litteris*, i.e. letter 16 of this book.

abruperam, 'I broke off': the tense is perhaps epistolary: see n. to 4 § 2.

quamquam...incipiam is quoted from Virg. *Aen.* ii 12: cf. 33 § 1.

2. *reliquum tempus*, 'the rest of the day.'

studiis: see n. to *studebat* 16 § 5.

nox, 'later': *erant* must be supplied. The Romans ordinarily bathed before the afternoon meal (*cena*) which they took about 4 p.m.

3. *solitus*, 'common.' There had been an unusually severe earthquake on Feb. 5, 63 A.D., which destroyed a great part of Herculaneum.

invaluit: see n. to 2 § 4.

omnia, 'the whole house.'

verti, 'to be turning upside down.'

4. *surgebam*, 'I was on the point of getting up': the narrative present is dropped for the moment.

invicem: see n. to 5 § 7: here also it denotes reciprocal action: he was going to do to her what she actually did to him.

area: apparently the court was not surrounded by buildings on all sides but on one side by the sea.

5. *vocare*, 'to call it,' i.e. what he proceeded to do.

agebam enim etc.: there is an ellipse: 'it was probably folly, for I was only 17.'

This sentence serves to date Pliny's birth: as he was 17-18 in August 79, he was born between September 61 and August 62.

posco: begin the clause with 'but' in English.

librum: the history of Livy was contained in 142 separate rolls (*libri* or *volumina*) of which only 35 are now extant. Macaulay in a letter to Ellis (May 29, 1835) says he would give 'a quarter's salary' to recover the lost books of Livy. Macaulay was then a member of Council in India, and his salary was £10,000 a year.

excerpo, 'made extracts.' This method of reading was probably enjoined by his uncle, who always practised it and left to Pliny 160 volumes of such extracts 'in very small writing.'

ecce introduces a new personage: 'Enter a friend of...'

patientia here has a bad sense: cf. 31 § 5: he may have said to her, *quousque patieris hunc filium tuum nugae agere?*

securitatem, 'apathy.'

intentus in, 'kept poring over.'

6. hora...prima, 'it was 7 o'clock': see n. to 16 § 4.

dies, 'the daylight.'

tectis are the buildings of the house, no doubt a large one, which its inhabitants have now left for the open court outside.

ruinae metus, 'risk from the falling buildings.'

7. oppido, i.e. Misenum.

visum, 'we decided': like placuit.

vulgus, 'a mob': it would consist largely of sailors' wives and children, as the fleet had a permanent station at Misenum.

attonitum, 'crazy with fear.'

quodque etc., lit. 'a thing in fear which is like wisdom,' i.e. 'a point in which panic resembles prudence.'

abeuntis: acc. plur.

8. egressi tecta, 'once outside the buildings' of the town.

After egressi Cicero would write neither tecta nor tectis but ex tectis: he uses the acc. after egredi only in metaphorical phrases such as egredi modum.

quamquam: see n. to 16 § 12.

in eodem vestigio, κατὰ χώραν, 'stationary.' The rocking of the earth prevented the carriages from remaining at rest.

9. in se resorberi, 'sucked back.'

processerat littus: i.e. what had before been sea was now dry land.

harenis: locative.

ab altero latere, i.e. on the land side.

ignei...rupta, 'rent by forked and quivering flashes of the fiery blast': spiritus is the rush of flame from the crater of Vesuvius: cf. spiritu evecta 16 § 6.

dehiscebat in, 'parted so as to reveal....'

10. frater is addressed to the mother, avunculus to the son.

vos, 'you both': 'you' alone would be misleading.

non commissuros ut, 'that we would not venture': non committam ut faciam hardly differs from non faciam: Cicero is fond of the periphrasis.

nostrae: supply salutis, governed by consuleremus. Their answer does not seem very sensible: the admiral, on board his ship, was far more able to seek safety than they were.

11. illa nubes, 'the cloud I spoke of before.'

descendere: in a narrative the historic infinitive can be used for the imperf. indicative: as a rule several occur together: so there is a pair here, and three in § 12.

operire, 'veiled.'

Caprae (now Capri) is an island 3 miles off the coast of Campania.

Miseni quod procurrit, lit. 'the part of M. which runs out,' a strange phrase for 'the Cape of M.'

abstulerat, 'had taken from our sight.'

12. iubere is a climax: she passed from entreaties to commands. iubere, without an ut, governs fugerem.

posse: supply fugere.

annis et corpore gravem, 'beneath her weight of years and infirmities.'

bene, 'in peace.'

contra: supply dico.

salvum non futurum, 'would not save my life.'

moretur: she said te moror, which, when reported by Pliny, becomes me moretur.

13. cinis: supply incidebat.

deflectamus, 'let us leave the road': up till now they had kept to the road after leaving the town. Pliny feared that in the coming darkness they would be trodden under foot and crushed, unless they got off the road.

videmus, 'we are able to see.'

14. consideramus: pluperfect.

et nox, 'when night fell': a verb is indispensable in English.

in locis clausis, 'between four walls.'

lumine, 'the lamp,' or artificial light of some kind.

audires, 'one might have heard': see n. to accesseris, 1 § 1.

The first vocibus means 'with cries,' the second, 'by the sound of their voices.'

15. tollere: another historical infinitive, and a single specimen of this time.

plures, 'the majority.'

With deos and noctem, esse must be supplied.

novissimam, 'latest,' i.e. 'final.'

mundo, 'for the world.'

interpretabantur, 'concluded.'

Miseni illud ruisse, illud..., 'that at Misenum one building had fallen, another...'

credentibus, lit. 'to persons believing them.'

16. One would like to have more indications of the time of day; but probably Pliny and his party had no means of knowing this. Modern Europeans, in such a plight, would probably have watches and matches; but the Romans carried neither.

longius, 'some distance off.'

tenebrae: supply *incipiebant*.

17. Pliny showed courage in the face of death; but he says he will not boast of this, because he was supported and consoled by the belief that not only he but the whole world was in process of destruction.

The view is strange to us; but it is expressed by other ancient writers: so Seneca says (*Nat. Quaest.* vi 2, 9) *ingens mortis solacium est terram quoque videre mortalem*.

mihi...excidisse, 'fell from my lips.'

omnibus, 'the world': neuter, as is shown by *omnia* following.

solacio: this abl. can hardly be translated literally: perhaps 'had I not believed that...; and this is a...alleviation of the sentence of death.'

18. **dies verus**, 'real daylight came.'

luridus, 'yellow.'

19. **curatis corporibus**, 'when we had attended to our bodily wants': *cura corporis* includes eating, bathing, dressing.

utcumque implies that the service of the household was disorganised.

lymphati, 'made hysterical.'

20. **nobis**, i.e. Pliny and his mother.

consilium: supply *erat*.

nuntius: supply *veniret*.

haec, 'these details,' is first object of *leges* and then subject of *videbuntur*.

non scripturus leges, 'you will read with no intention of recording them' in your history, as they are far below the dignity of history.

tibi...imputabis, 'you must blame yourself,' lit. 'you will score it against yourself'; the metaphor is taken from the keeping of accounts.

LETTER 21.

TO CANINIUS.

Caninius Rufus was, like Pliny, a native of Comum. He was a man of letters and wrote, or meant to write, a Greek epic poem on the Dacian campaigns of Trajan. The other letters addressed to him are i, 3; ii, 8; iii, 7; vii, 18; viii, 4; ix, 33.

1. **ingenia**, 'great writers.'

neque enim, 'for it is not true that...' That the world is old, and that its productions are inferior to what they once were, is a view often stated by ancient writers, notably by Lucretius.

nihil iam, 'no longer...anything.'

2. **atque adeo**, 'on the contrary': see n. to 10 § 3.

legentem may be chosen instead of *recitantem* because of the unpleasant associations of the latter word.

veteris comoediae, i.e. of Aristophanic comedy: no doubt Romanus, despite his name, wrote in Greek.

quandoque=*aliquando*. With **esse possit** supply 'itself' in English.

3. **nescio an**, 'I don't know whether': in Cicero *haud scio an noris* means 'I think you do know.'

quamquam, 'and yet': see n. to 8 § 9.

For the triple asyndeton, see n. to 6 § 1.

elegantia, 'refinement.'

4. **scripsit**, 'he is the author of...'

mimiambos: short dramatic poems, in a kind of iambic verse: a collection of such poems, by Herodas, was recently discovered on a papyrus in Egypt: no complete poem of the kind was previously known.

tenulter, argute, venuste, 'in a simple, lively, and charming style.'

in hoc genere, 'considering the kind of literature,' which does not admit of the highest flights of eloquence. (*ut in hoc genere* would be more usual.)

He had also imitated the New Comedy, written by Menander, Philemon, and others from about 350 B.C.: it differed from the Old Comedy in style and subject, and in the absence of the Chorus. These plays have all been lost; and we have only the Latin translations or adaptations by Plautus and Terence.

5. *non illi vis* etc.: this is the criticism on the comedy written in imitation of Aristophanes.

granditas, 'elevation of style.' I suppose such lines in Aristophanes as *Knights* 1329, 1330 are an example of *granditas*: and imitations of this style would be inserted by Romanus at what he thought the proper places.

subtilitas, 'plainness' (not 'subtlety'): the regular word for that unadorned style which was the highest art of the Attic writers.

ornavit, 'he praised up.' This was not so much the object of the real Old Comedy as to attack vice and folly.

decenter, 'suitably.' Probably all the wicked were attacked under false names, and all the good praised in their own. The practice of using pseudonyms (often metrically equivalent to the true names, e.g. Lesbia for Clodia) was common, for different reasons, in Roman literature; but such a practice is, as a rule, far removed from the spirit of Aristophanes.

6. *tantum* goes with *me*. One wonders how Pliny found a place in the Comedy, whether as a character in the piece or in the *parabasis* which the conscientious author is not likely to have omitted.

tamen, 'after all.'

7. *in summa*, 'to sum up': see n. to 6 § 9.

extorquebo kills two birds with one stone: it suggests that such a modest author as Romanus will be unwilling to submit his work to such an eminent critic as Caninius.

ediscendum: see n. to 2 § 2.

After *non dubito*, Cicero would use *quin*, not the acc. and inf.

LETTER 22.

TO TIRO.

For Calestius Tiro, see n. to Letter 1.

1. *magna res...omnium*, 'a case of importance to all.'
simpliciter, 'without reserve.'

2. It is not known of what province Lustricus was governor.
comitem suum, 'one of his suite': the suite as a whole is often called *cohors*.

ut accusaret, 'by prosecuting' for misgovernment: he did not merely prosecute on the ground of the charge against himself.

ful in consilio, 'I was an assessor,' being invited by Trajan to act in that capacity: see n. to 11 § 1. The emperor could summon any case, whether civil or criminal, before his own tribunal.

egit, 'spoke': see n. to *acturus* 2 § 2.

carptim etc., 'bit by bit and item by item': no long speeches on the general aspects of the case were allowed.

3. *hoc*, abl.

amasset is subjunctive of reported speech; the speaker said *amabam*.

4. *ille*, Atticinus.

ita regessit ut..., 'retorted with this result, that ...'

dum defenditur, 'by reason of his defence.'

commentarios, 'a document,' which contained the charges against himself: he had 'tampered with it,' i.e. had erased his own name and substituted that of Lustricus, a very bold stroke.

5. *Caesar*: therefore Trajan had now returned from his Dacian campaign: see n. to 13 § 2.

perrogavit: supply *sententias*: he asked each of those who were sitting on the bench with him to state his opinion about Atticinus' guilt: about Lustricus he refused to put the question.

in insulam relegatus: confinement to an island was a common punishment in imperial times: it was adopted by the European powers when they banished Napoleon first to Elba and finally to St Helena. Islands, such as Corsica or Gyaros, which were not pleasant places to live in, were chosen for this purpose.

iustissimum, 'well-deserved.'

quem...secuta est, 'and he has gained by the way a reputation for vigour.'

6. *defensus*: middle, not passive.

7. *scripsi*, 'I write': see n. to 4 § 2.

sortitum=*quia sortitus es*: Tiro had been appointed to govern the province of Baetica.

nec cuiquam satis fidas does not make good sense, unless *satis* is taken as 'entirely.' But perhaps Pliny wrote *nec cuiquam* < *plus quam* > *satis fidas*, and two words dropped out because of the repetition of *quam*.

abominor: cf. 4 § 4.

paratam: supply *esse*.

etiam atque etiam: cf. 12 § 5.

LETTER 23.

TO TRIARIUS.

Of Triarius nothing is known. No other letter is addressed to him.

1. *pertinentem* etc., 'in which you are interested.'

famosam, 'likely to bring reputation' to the counsel engaged: in Cicero the word means 'infamous.'

faciam, 'I will': the repetition of the verb (here *agam*) is commoner in Latin.

qui: ablative. During the Republic, advocates were forbidden by law to receive fees; Claudius permitted them to receive a maximum fee of 10,000 sesterces (£100). It was evidently Pliny's practice to take no fees.

honestiorem, 'which does me more credit.'

2. Pliny stipulates that Cremutius Ruso (to whom ix, 19 is addressed) shall appear in court as his junior.

in, 'in the case of.'

pluribus: see n. to 2 § 9.

ostendere foro, 'to introduce to the courts.'

3. *quod* is the relative.

praestare, 'to do': see n. to 2 § 7.

natales, 'birth,' would in earlier Latin mean 'birthdays': but the former sense is common in the imperial writers.

ex isdem partibus: cf. *ex diverso* 11 § 1.

4. When the case is over, Triarius will feel that he has done himself, rather than Pliny, a service by letting Ruso appear.

suffecturum: supply *esse eum*.

indolis: see n. to 11 § 1.

brevi: Cicero would write *max*, using *brevi* only of a past action.

5. *statim*, 'to start with,' seems, in spite of its position, to belong to *emergere*.

LETTER 24.

TO MACER.

This correspondent is not addressed or even mentioned elsewhere.

1. *a quo quidque fiat*, 'who it is that does a thing.'

altissime, 'to the skies.'

2. *Larius* is the ancient name of the lake of Como, at the S.W. end of which stood the city of Comum.

nostrum either denotes Pliny's affection for his native place, or implies that Macer also was a native of the country.

municeps nostra, 'a woman of our town.'

3. *neque enim* etc.: reported speech: she said, *nemo fidelius indicabit possisne sanari*.

4. *comes* means that she went with him to death, *dux*, that she went before him. Hence *immo*, 'nay.'

5. *non quia* etc.: Cicero would write *non quo* (or *quod*) *esset*..., *sed quia*...*erat*.

Arria was one of the most famous women of antiquity: when her husband, Caecina Paetus, was ordered to commit suicide by the emperor Claudius in 42 A.D., she stabbed herself mortally, handed the dagger to her husband, and said, 'Paetus, it does not hurt.' And her life was worthy of her heroic death: Pliny has a very interesting letter (iii, 16) about her, giving details, which he had picked up from her grand-daughter.

LETTER 25.

TO HISPANUS.

There is no other mention of this correspondent.

1. *splendidum equitem*: see n. to 15 § 1.

Romanum: the epithet is often added to *eques*, as there might be *equites* of other places, but not to *senator*, as to a Roman there could be but one senate.

Oriculum, a town in Umbria, 44 miles from Rome along the *Via Flaminia*.

nusquam comparuisse, 'vanished utterly.'

in aliqua vestigia, 'upon some scent.'

2. *nescio quid*, 'mysterious fate.'

aliquando: supply *accidit*.

municipi: see n. to 24 § 2.

3. *ordinem*, 'promotion' to the rank of centurion: in technical language *ordines* is often used for 'centurions.'

inpetraueram, by petition to the emperor.

XL milia nummum = £400. To our thinking, Pliny had better have kept this detail to himself, except in so far as it supplies an additional motive for the man's murder.

ad instruendum etc., 'for his equipment and outfit': he would get uniform, arms, and attendants with the money.

exitu, 'his death.'

4. *suis*, 'his attendants.'

certe, 'at any rate.'

ut ne, 'I hope we may not....'

in, 'in the case of.'

5. *demus*, 'let us grant'; *praestemus* might be used with exactly the same meaning.

tuis: supply *precibus*.

sagacitate continues the metaphor of *vestigia* above: the young man shows not only affection for his father but also the skill of a detective.

That *cum quo* (for which *quocum* is commoner)...*fuisset* is not a relative clause, is shown by the mood of *fuisset*.

LETTER 26.

TO SERVIANUS.

Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus was born about 47 A.D. His wife, Domitia Paulina, was a sister of the Emperor Hadrian; and he himself repeatedly filled the highest offices of the state. He was consul and governor of Upper Germany in 98, consul again in 102, and for the third time in 134. Two years later, when he was 90 years old, he was put to death by Hadrian's order.

1. *Fusco Salinatori*: cf. 11 § 1.

domus, 'his family.'

litteratus, 'versed in literature.'

disertus evidently denotes a more advanced stage than *litteratus*, and may be translated, 'an author.'

puer simplicitate, 'with the frankness of a boy.'

2. *iudico*, 'I judge him impartially,' i.e. I could see faults in him: Pliny is fond of this use of *iudicare* and also of *iudicium* as opposed to blind affection: cf. 8 § 2.

ut qui, 'since I.'

voto, like *εὐχή*, often used of a wish for something too good to be realised.

3. *similium* governed by *avum*.

sui (gen.) governed by *similium*.

illud may refer to the remoteness either of the past or, as here, of the future: 'that coming time.'

vestro, 'yours and his': 'yours' alone would be misleading.

LETTER 27.

TO SEVERUS.

Gaius Vettennius Severus was consul in 108 A.D. When this letter was written, he was consul elect; so that the date of the letter is 107. There is one other letter (ix, 22) addressed to him.

1. *quid...censeas*, 'what you are to say in your speech': *censere* is the technical word for a speech delivered in the senate.

It was now, and long afterwards, the custom for the newly

elected consul to address a formal speech of thanks to the emperor who had chosen him for office. Eight years before, Pliny himself had delivered such a speech (see *Introd.* p. xiii).

inventio, 'to find matter.' There is so much to be said in praise of Trajan, that it is difficult to choose.

coram, 'when we meet.'

si prius etc., 'but first I shall...', is a more English turn.

mihi: supply *tunc suasi*, when I had to make a similar speech.

2. **hac**, 'of the present day': while *ille* refers to past or future. **etsi non** = 'I will not call it...'

This is rather a surprising statement. The whole of the speech in question is taken up with praising Trajan. He may have deserved it all; but there is certainly far too much of it.

tamquam, 'because I was.'

liber, 'independent.'

principis, governed by *intellegens*.

nihil decernerem, 'paid him no tribute.'

3. **pessimo cuique**: Domitian is specially meant. **a**, 'from.'

dissimulatione, 'with concealment.'

iudicium, 'deliberate choice.'

4. **ego**: supply *fecit*.

nec conveniunt quidem, 'and is not becoming to all either': more correct Latin would be *et ne c. quidem*: for this sense of *ne... quidem*, see n. to 15 § 1.

cum...tum, 'both...and.'

hominum is governed by *condicione*.

5. On the whole, Pliny's advice seems to be that Severus should not follow his example, but should frankly praise the Emperor.

recentia opera refers to the 2nd Dacian war, just ended.

illud etc., 'of one thing I am sure, that I was bound to include in my advice a statement of what I did myself.' But Severus might have read this for himself in Pliny's published speech.

LETTER 28.

TO PONTIUS.

Unlike the previous letters, all of which may have been written from Rome, this letter is written from Campania, where Pliny is staying in a house belonging to Pontius. (This is proved by the word *huc* in § 1.)

Two other of the letters (v 14, vii 4) are addressed to Pontius: nothing is known of him from any other source.

1. **impedimento**, lit. 'for a hindrance': predicative dat.: see n. to *curae* 8 § 2.

quamquam: see n. to 16 § 12.

totus, 'bag and baggage.'

huc, 'hither,' i.e. to the house where I now am: *hic* is the pronoun of the first person; and *haec manus* generally means 'my hand,' *ista manus*, 'your hand,' and *illa manus*, 'his or her hand.'

tantum, 'such a quantity': a noun.

qua...qua, 'both...and': not used by Cicero in this sense: again 33 § 4.

urbanae copiae would be dainties such as one does not expect in the country: *rusticae copiae* are defined by Martial as cabbage, eggs, chickens, fruit, cheese, new wine.

quas—tamen, 'it was greedy of me to accept them all, but I did.'

2. **tui**, 'your servants.'

3. **etiam**, 'yes': see n. to 2 § 8.

perinde...ac: see n. to 8 § 9.

illis: istis would be more correct.

LETTER 29.

TO QUADRATUS.

For Gaius Ummidius Quadratus, see n. to 11 § 1. One other letter (ix, 13) is addressed to him. Here Pliny, as an old hand at the bar, gives some advice to the young man about the choice of cases in which to appear.

1. **probavit**, 'respected.'

multa...Thraseae, 'many sayings of Thrasea.' Publius Fannius Thrasea Paetus, the son-in-law of Arria (see n. to 24 § 5), was at once a noble Roman and a Stoic philosopher. He was an intimate friend of the poet Persius. His fearless condemnation of Nero's crimes makes him the hero of the later books of Tacitus' *Annals*. At last he was prosecuted for treason and forced to commit suicide (66 A.D.). To the Romans of Pliny's time he was the model of virtue and heroism.

suscipiendas etc., 'that the proper cases to undertake were those of your friends, or those which no one else would undertake, or those which set a precedent.'

2. *amicorum*: supply *causas esse suscipiendas dixerit*.

constantia, 'firmness of purpose.'

cerneretur and *referret* below are subjunctive, because they are reported speech: Thrasea said *cernitur* and *refert*.

induceretur, 'were set.'

3. *ambitiose*, 'daringly.'

gloriae and *famae* are genitives.

terminos: i.e. I advise a man of your high position and character not to go beyond the cases laid down.

4. *praeterit* = *fallit*: impersonal.

usum, 'practice.'

ingenio, *litteris* are ablatives of description.

agerent: see n. to *acturus* 2 § 2.

5. *vel Pollionis vel tamquam Pollionis*, 'either said by P. or attributed to him': for the gen., comp. *multa Thraseae* § 1.

Gaius Asinius Pollio was distinguished as an orator, and not less as a poet, historian, and general, in the reign of Augustus. He established the first public library at Rome, and is also said to have introduced the practice of reciting literary works.

commode, 'well.' His good speaking made many anxious to have his services.

facilitas, 'fluency': *facultas*, 'skill.'

6. Isocrates (born 436, died 338 B.C.) taught rhetoric and wrote rhetorical compositions at Athens: many distinguished orators and historians were his pupils.

mollitia frontis, 'by shyness': so *perfricui frontem*, 'I have laid modesty aside,' lit. 'I have rubbed my forehead, made it hard.'

in publico, i.e. in the law-courts or public assembly at Athens.

debebis, 'you ought': the future is unnatural in English.

7. *hoc temperamentum*, 'these limitations' which I recommend to you.

fere, 'on the whole.'

necessitas means the compulsion of higher powers, as of the senate.

pars rationis est, 'is included among motives.'

quasdam: supply *causas*.

illa, i.e. the third class.

8. Massa was condemned in 93 A.D. for extortion in his province of Baetica: his name is elsewhere used as a type of such crime.

inquisitio: see n. to *inquirendi* 5 § 2.

Classicus was prosecuted in 101 A.D., for the same offence in the same province. Before the trial came on he died, possibly by suicide; but the province went on with the prosecution, that his instruments might be punished.

plecti, 'to smart for it': this word is hardly used in the active: it seems to be somewhat colloquial, like our 'to catch it.' It seems also to be used especially of vicarious suffering.

9. Priscus was condemned in 100 A.D. for extortion in his province of Africa. Tacitus, as well as Pliny, spoke for the prosecution.

In spite of all these cases of misconduct, it is certain that the Roman provinces were better governed under the Empire than under the Republic.

repetundarum: see n. to 5 § 2.

utebatur, 'experienced.'

relegatus: see n. to 22 § 5.

10. Julius Bassus was prosecuted by the people of Bithynia in 103 or 104 A.D., and defended by Pliny and Varenus.

ut...ita, 'though...yet.'

iudicibus acceptis: in the case of Bassus two proposals were made in the senate: (1) that he should be found guilty under the law of extortion (which would have involved his expulsion from the senate); (2) that he should not be expelled from the senate, but should appear before a special jury (*iudices*), who should assess the

amount of restitution to be made. The latter proposal was supported by Pliny and carried.

11. *Vareno*: see n. to Letter 5.

invicem = 'as well as his opponents': see n. to 5 § 7.

evocare testes: see n. to Letter 5.

opto, 'I pray.'

iubear: supply *facere*.

LETTER 30.

TO FABATUS.

For this correspondent, see n. to Letter 12.

1. *mehercule*: see n. to 19 § 6.

natales, 'birthdays': for another meaning, see n. to 23 § 3.

hic, 'at Rome,' *istic*, 'at Comum.' Fabatus, like Pliny, was a native of Comum, and apparently looked after the estates which Pliny owned there. Hence Pliny says, 'thanks to you, I am not anxious about things at Comum.'

2. *Camilliana*: probably named from a former owner.

quam in Campania possides: these words could hardly have been written in a real letter to Fabatus, who knew the fact well enough without being told it; they must have been added when Pliny was touching up the letter for publication. For a clause similarly added, cf. 34 § 3.

3. *attendemus*, 'I will see to it.'

quam saluberrime = *quam minimo pretio*, 'as reasonably as possible': this meaning of *saluber* is found occasionally in Latin of this date.

cuius: supply *generis amicum*: what was wanted was a 'clerk of the works,' who would not object to the country.

res, 'the circumstances.'

4. *sunt*: supply *mei amici* as subject.

togati: to the Romans the *toga* was something like our black coat, the garb of a dweller in cities; country people wore the *tunica*. Juvenal says that outside Rome many Italians wear the *toga* only in their coffins; Martial speaks of a country squire who wore his occasionally on holidays.

cura, 'employment'; *sordida*, 'degrading.'

5. *de Rufo*, i.e. 'of employing R.'

honestissime, 'very properly.'

fruit: the tense implies that Fabatus' son, Pliny's father-in-law, is dead: cf. 12 § 3.

praestare: see n. to 2 § 7.

velle: supply *eum*.

LETTER 31.

TO CORNELIANUS.

This correspondent is not mentioned elsewhere.

1. *in consilium*, 'as assessor': see n. to 11 § 1.

Caesare: Trajan.

Centum Cellae, now Civita Vecchia, is on the coast of Etruria, 47 miles N. of Rome.

2. *iustitiam* etc.: for the triple asyndeton, see n. to 6 § 1.

quodque, i.e. as well as on state occasions at Rome.

ubi maxime go together: cf. *cum maxime* 16 § 22.

et quae, 'and such as to....'

virtutes iudicis, 'his excellences as a judge.'

species, 'aspects.'

3. *dixit causam*, 'appeared for trial.'

innoxie: i.e. his popularity was not dangerous to the Roman government of the place.

dissimillimis, i.e. people who were neither benefactors to the town nor friendly to the government.

inmissus, 'suborned': supply *est*.

4. A Roman, who intended to follow the career of a senator, was obliged, before he held the quaestorship, the first of the curule offices (*honores*), to complete a short period of service in the army as *tribunus militum*: see Introd. p. xi. Gallita's husband was now doing his service.

legato consulari, 'to the governor': all governors of provinces were styled *legati* (lit. 'deputies'): but in provinces ruled by the senate governors were called *legati praetorii*, in provinces ruled by the emperor, either *l. consulares* or *l. praetorii*.

5. *exauctoravit*, 'cashiered.'

relegavit: see n. to 22 § 5.

supererat crimini, lit. 'there remained to the crime,' i.e. 'to deal with the crime, there was still....'

patientiae, 'connivance': for *patientia* in a bad sense, cf. 20 § 5.

post delatum = *postquam delulerat*.

6. The Julian law *de adulteriis* was passed by Augustus: it provided that a woman, convicted of adultery, should lose half her dowry and be banished (*relegata*).

poenis is dative.

Trajan did not wish all divorce cases to come before him; so he expressly appended to his judgment (*sententia*) a note that he dealt with this particular case as head of the army.

7. *codicilli*, nom. in apposition with *cognitio*.

falsi, 'forged.' The relations of Tiro had accused Senecio and Eurythmus of inserting a forged clause in the will for their own benefit.

8. *crimini* seems here to mean 'charge,' though generally in Pliny it means 'crime.'

procurator, 'financial agent': an army of these officials was employed by the emperor in the collection and management of his revenue, which came, partly from the provinces, to his private treasury, the *fiscus*. They were often freedmen; and their influence was naturally very great, especially in the imperial provinces.

heredes are the relations of Tiro, who think they should have got the whole of the property.

in Dacia: see n. to 13 § 2.

9. *diem dederat*, 'he had appointed a day for the trial.'

omitterent, 'wished to drop': the connexion of Eurythmus with the emperor made them anxious to take no steps against him.

Polyclitus was a freedman and favourite of Nero's: Trajan meant: both master and man are changed since those days.'

consederat: the technical word of a judge taking his seat on the bench.

10. *agere*, 'to appear.'

11. *suspicionibus relinqui*, 'were left under suspicion,' i.e. would not leave the court without a stain on their character.

isti, 'the defendants.'

12. *ἐπιστήσατε*, 'consider': *τὸν νοῦν* would be added in Attic Greek.

isti, i.e. the heirs.

quaeri nolunt etc., 'object to the investigation of a charge which it was in their power not to bring.' Trajan considers that having once brought it, they are no longer free to drop it.

(The text however is uncertain; and *licuerit* ought surely to be *licuit*.)

adprobarent causas, 'show good cause.'

alioqui, *εἰ δὲ μή*, 'if they did not.'

calumnia = *συκοφαντία*, 'false charges.'

13. *si principem cogitares*, 'considering his royal station': *cum esse* must be supplied: for this use of the 2nd person, see n. to *accesseris* i § 1.

acroamata are recitations or dramatic entertainments.

14. *summo die*: apparently Pliny spent three days on his judicial duties and left on the fourth day.

15. *cum maxime*, 'at this very time': see n. to 6 § 6.

Trajan, who was a great builder as well as a great soldier, constructed a magnificent harbour (*portus Traiani*) here, which became of more importance when the harbour at Ostia became silted up. The harbour seems to have been entirely artificial. It was formed by a breakwater, or artificial island, with a mole running out towards each end of this, and leaving only a narrow entrance at each side of it: the basin so enclosed was nearly round.

16. *obiacens* is fem.

latissima, 'of great burden.'

manent, 'are kept steady.'

17. *eminet*, 'sticks up' above the water.

in inmensum goes with *tollit*.

fragor, 'crash.' The description is purposely poetical.

pillae are often mentioned in the construction of harbours and bridges: they were piers or pillars, placed upon stone foundations and serving to support further erections, such as light-houses.

enatam, 'a natural island rising from the sea': *natus* often has the sense of *natura factus*: *enatam* must not be translated as if it were merely *natam*.

auctoris, 'its maker': *auctor* is a word of very elastic meaning.
erit vel maxime salutaris, 'it will save, one may say, a
 multitude of lives.'

inportuosum goes with *per l. spatium*.

LETTER 32.

TO QUINTILIANUS.

This is not the famous orator and author: he was dead before this date; he had no daughters but only sons, both of whom died in early life; nor would Pliny have written quite in this style to a man of such distinction. This was some humbler person who did not consider it beneath his dignity to accept such a contribution to the expense of his daughter's *trousseau*.

1. *decebat*: supply *institui*.

Tutilli neptem: Quintilian had therefore married a Tutilia, probably the daughter of a Tutilius whom Martial mentions as a teacher of rhetoric.

ratio civilium officiorum, 'the circumstance of his practice at the bar.'

nitore, 'of display': so Juvenal says that nowadays no suitor would think of employing Cicero, unless the orator wore a fine ring.
condicionem, 'station.'

augeri, 'to be provided.'

ornatur...instruitur: cf. 25 § 3.

2. *beatissimum*, 'very rich.'

facultatibus, 'in worldly wealth.'

puellae: dative.

50,000 sesterces = £500.

plus collaturus = *et plus contulisset*: this use of the fut. participle, to express the apodosis of a conditional sentence, was unknown to Cicero, but is very common in imperial Latin.

a, 'from.'

mediocritate, 'trifling amount.'

LETTER 33.

TO ROMANUS.

For Romanus, see n. to Letter 15.

1. He begins with a quotation from the Aeneid (viii, 439) where Vulcan bids the Cyclopes set aside their other tasks and forge the weapons for Aeneas.

potui: supply *dicere*.

re vera, 'seriously.'

ut inter meas, 'compared with my other speeches.' Pliny does not wish to match himself against other writers, but is willing to put his own speeches in an order of merit.

2. *pro*, 'in defence of.'

personae, 'of the person concerned,' i.e. Attia.

iudicii magnitudine, 'the great size of the court': see below.

quam is used by a common ellipse in the sense of *postquam*.

ei...induxerat, 'he had married, to her injury...', lit. 'had brought in against her.'

quadruplici iudicio, 'in the four courts sitting together.'

The court of the *centumviri*, in which this action was brought, originally consisted of 105 judges, 3 for each Roman tribe. After the reforms of Augustus it consisted of 180 members, sitting in four divisions: the present instance shows that all the divisions might be united for a special trial, but that each division gave its verdict separately. This was the court in which Pliny regularly spoke. Cases of disputed wills came before it.

3. *advocatio*, 'number of advocates.'

numerosa, 'many': in classical Latin the word means 'musical.'

subsella: the parties, their counsel, and the witnesses occupied these benches.

corona, lit. 'ring,' is the regular word for bystanders, whether in a law-court or at athletic sports.

4. *tribunal*: the judgment-seat would be occupied by the praetor who presided over the court, and by his privileged friends.

superiore...parte, 'the galleries.' This court regularly sat in the Julia Basilica, begun by Julius Caesar, of which the foundations can still be clearly traced in the Roman forum. The building was

so large that persons in the galleries, though they had a good view, could not hear much of the speeches.

qua...qua: see n. to 28 § 1.

5. *duobus consiliis*, 'in two divisions.'

vicimus, 'we gained a verdict': a technical phrase of the law-courts.

videretur, 'might have appeared': the subj. seems to be potential.

6. The stepmother had been left $\frac{1}{4}$ th of her husband's property; but the court seems to have set aside this part of the will and also a provision in favour of a certain Suberinus.

7. *detegam artes*, 'I will show my hand.'

tibi goes with *videreris*.

magna, 'long.'

8. *copiā* is ablative.

arguta divisione, 'by lively arrangement.'

pluribus: see n. to 2 § 9.

eloquendi, 'of style.'

renovatur: supply *oratio*: 'the interest is kept up.'

elata, 'lofty passages.'

subtilla, 'plain passages': see n. to 21 § 5: the necessity of these is explained in the next sentence: the orator had to deal largely with figures and accounts where eloquence was out of place.

9. *acribus illis et erectis*, 'that vehement and eloquent language': *acribus* corresponds to *pugnacia* and *erectis* to *elata*.

calculos tabulamque: for the purpose of working sums.

privati iudicii: cases that came before the *centumviri* were *publica iudicia*: a private suit would be tried by specially appointed *iudices*, who would attend more to facts and figures than to eloquence.

centumvirale: supply *iudicium*.

10. The form of expression is intentionally poetical.

dolori, 'to resentment': the three nouns seem almost identical in meaning, though this is strange when he is just saying that the many aspects of the case enabled him to display many styles of oratory.

11. *in summa*: see n. to 6 § 9.

contubernalibus: 'intimates': the name is often applied to

learned men living as inmates in some great man's house. Pliny's *contubernales* were not perhaps the most impartial judges of his orations.

ὑπὲρ Κτησιφώντος, 'the *De Corona* of my speeches,' this being considered the greatest of all the speeches of Demosthenes. Ctesiphon proposed that Demosthenes should be rewarded with a golden crown for his services to Athens. Aeschines prosecuted Ctesiphon for the proposal; and Demosthenes delivered his famous speech, *On the Crown*, in 330 B.C., in defence of Ctesiphon.

vere: supply *existent*.

omnes: supply *meas orationes*.

LETTER 34.

TO MAXIMUS.

For Maximus, see n. to Letter 11.

1. *recte fecisti, quod*, 'you have done well to...'

It is surprising that Pliny, who was obviously a man of humane and refined temper, should approve of a gladiatorial show: but he was also a thoroughly conventional man who would not think of objecting to the current morality of the day. Elsewhere (*Paneg.* 33) he praises a show of gladiators, given by Trajan, as a manly spectacle.

The attitude of the Romans, even the most refined of them, to these shows is a proof partly of the power of habit, partly of the demoralisation caused by slavery. Cicero did not like to see animals slaughtered at the shows; but apparently he felt no repugnance to the murder of human beings. Seneca is the only Roman writer who expresses abhorrence of the inhumanity of his age and nation: of course Greek authors, such as Plutarch and Lucian, condemn it absolutely. It is said that gladiators fought for the last time at Rome in 404 A.D., in the reign of Honorius, when an Asiatic monk, named Telemachus, rushed into the arena to part the combatants. He was torn in pieces by the mob, in revenge for the interruption of their amusement; but his self-devotion brought the cruel practice to an end.

munus is the regular word for a 'show' of gladiators: it

suggests the original purpose of such shows, which was, as Pliny states here, to do honour to the dead at funeral games.

nostris, because Comum and Verona are both in the same district of Italy, Gallia Transpadana. The amphitheatre, in which these gladiators fought, is still one of the most striking remains of ancient Italy.

olim amaris, 'you have long been loved': Cicero would write *iam dudum amaris*.

inde, 'from Verona': the noun is best expressed in English; in Latin the pronoun is sufficient.

tibi is to be taken with both the epithets.

opus, 'public building.'

funeri: supply *debetur*.

2. **videretur**, 'might have seemed.'

egregie: supply *fecisti*.

facilis, 'compliant': he did not haggle over the items but gave what was asked.

edendo: supply *munere*.

3. **vellem...occurrissent** = 'I am sorry they did not turn up,' *vellem* and *nollem* always express a regret, *velim* and *nolim* a wish.

Africanæ: supply *feræ*. Maximus had promised a *venatio*, a supply of panthers to be baited in the amphitheatre. This was always a popular item in the programme. As early as 51 B.C. we find Caelius urging Cicero to send panthers from his province of Cilicia, for the purpose of a show at Rome (Cic. *Ad Fam.* viii, 9, 3). The governors of provinces were expected to do little favours of this kind for their friends at home who had to give shows as aediles or praetors.

quas coemerat plurimas: probably this clause did not occur in the original letter but was added before publication: Maximus was quite aware of the fact: see n. to 30 § 2.

cessaverint, 'did not come up to time,' the ship which conveyed them having been detained by contrary winds.

ut acceptum tibi fieret, 'to have the credit of it.'

non per te stetit, 'it was not your fault,' but that of the elements.

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